

THE SOCIAL STUDIES



Continuing

The Historical Outlook

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The Social Studies

Continuing The Historical Outlook

VOLUME XXV, NUMBER 4

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New Viewpoints on the Jacksonian Period

ERIK MCKINLEY ERIKSSON

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One hundred years have now passed since Andrew Jackson, riding on the crest of a great wave of democracy, swept aside the forces of opposition and was elected President of the United States. The campaign, lasting almost four years, might be referred to as the first great "whispering" campaign.¹ It was fought with a bitterness probably never exceeded in American political history. Perhaps it was the intensity of this presidential race which gave color to the succeeding years. At any rate, the period in which Jackson occupied the White House was an era of such violent political controversy that it is difficult to find any source material not tinctured with prejudice either for or against Jackson.

This partisan bias is apparent whether one consults the correspondence of public or private citizens, newspapers or even public documents. Knowing this, it would be natural to suppose that historians would be exceedingly wary about accepting at face value statements made by contemporaries. But an examination of the great mass of published material on the period, including textbooks, reveals that this supposition is incorrect. Even today books are circulating and are being widely read in educational institutions and out, which refer to the period as "The Reign of Andrew Jackson." It is easy to discern the bias of a writer who persists in using an expression originating with Jackson's bitter enemies as descriptive of his administration. As a matter of fact Jackson was anything but monarchial and his presidency was characterized by a responsiveness to the will of the people unequaled by any other president.

In recent years the searchlight has been directed with new intensity on what has been called "Jacksonian Democracy" with resultant discoveries of interest and importance. It is apparent that im-

portant sources have been neglected which throw new light on the interesting political battles of the period. One of the most important of these sources is the group of political newspapers referred to by contemporaries as "official organs." The first new viewpoint to be considered therefore is the great importance of official organs in the period under consideration.

During the Jacksonian era there were four such newspapers, the *United States Telegraph*, the *Washington Globe*, the *National Intelligencer*, and the *National Journal*.² Historians of the present generation have made some use of these newspapers but with little understanding of their real significance. The *National Intelligencer* has even been referred to as an "impartial source" and has been so used. A recent writer refers to it as the "most quoted" newspaper before the Civil War. The truth of the matter is that this newspaper was partisan in every sense of the word, though not as bitter as some of its contemporaries. If used it should be with a knowledge of its character.

This newspaper was established as the official organ of President Jefferson—deriving its title of "official organ" from the fact that it acted as the spokesman of the Chief Executive and in turn received executive patronage. It continued as official organ till 1825—from 1812 under the joint editorship of Gales and Seaton. In 1825, having "picked the wrong horse" (it supported William H. Crawford for the presidency in 1824) it was supplanted by the *National Journal*, founded in 1823 by Peter Force. For the period of John Q. Adams' administration the *Journal* was the official organ. It continued to exist until almost the end of Jackson's first term when it finally "gave up the ghost." This newspaper was most extreme in opposition to Jackson, both during his campaign and

after his accession to the presidency. From its press emanated the most scurrilous charges against Jackson prior to his election in 1828, such as the adultery charge, the charge that he was a murderer, and the illiteracy charge.

In 1826 the Jacksonian forces established at Washington a campaign organ styled the *United States Telegraph* with Duff Green as editor. So effectively did this paper spread the Jacksonian Propaganda, including the charge of "corrupt bargain" against Clay and Adams, that it very materially promoted the General's chances for election. It would be at least as safe to say that the support of the *Telegraph* was the most important factor in securing Jackson's election as to accept the oft repeated statement that the support of Van Buren was the most important cause.

After Jackson's accession to the presidency, the *Telegraph* became the official organ. But early in the new administration it became clear that the President did not have full confidence in his spokesman. It has been commonly said that Green was an important member of the "Kitchen Cabinet" but this could hardly be true. The editor was so strongly devoted to John C. Calhoun that Jackson, egged on by the Van Buren faction, was soon led to view him with suspicion and the evidence clearly shows that Green was not consulted on important questions.

When Calhoun was eliminated from the Jacksonian ranks in 1830 it was only a matter of time until the *Telegraph* would be supplanted. The change came in December of that year when Francis Preston Blair, who had demonstrated as editor of the *Frankfort (Kentucky) Argus* that he was of the "faithful," began issuing the *Washington Globe*. During the remainder of Jackson's presidency the *Globe* effectively upheld the Jacksonian cause. It was the chief means by which the President was enabled to get his views before the people and so to sustain his great popularity even though opposed by the Bank of the United States with its talented array of prominent supporters, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, *et al.* Jackson did not need any "Official Spokesman of the White House," such as President Coolidge employed.

In passing, it should be mentioned that the *Globe* continued as official organ until 1841. From that date until 1845 it was the chief party organ of the Democratic party. It then became the *Washington Union* which served as official organ for Presidents Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan. Meanwhile, the *National Intelligencer* served as chief organ of the National Republicans and then of the Whigs, in opposition to Jackson. It was official organ during the short time William Henry Harrison was president and again under President Fillmore. It did

not finally suspend publication until the end of the decade of the sixties. The *Telegraph* after being cast aside by Jackson became the organ of Calhoun and the nullifiers and later of the pro-slavery interests. It went out of existence in 1836.

From the facts presented it should be apparent that it is no more scientific to rely on any of these newspapers alone for statements of fact than it is to place reliance on the correspondence and speeches of the partisan politicians of the period for factual material. Yet both errors have been committed, repeatedly and without challenge. Where the evidence is so controversial one must proceed with great caution, examining the testimony on each side and comparing it with other available evidence. Used in this way the official organs and ex-official organs have contributed to several other new viewpoints on the politics of the Jacksonian era.

One of these is in relation to the civil service.³ Concerning no phase of the period has there been so much confusion. The textbook writers as well as the general writers on the period have made so many conflicting or ambiguous statements that the student can hardly help being puzzled in regard to what really happened. Out of fifty textbooks and general books examined regarding the civil service under Jackson, the varied information was obtained that there was "a wholesale proscription of office-holders," that a "clean sweep" was made, that 2,000 were removed during the first year, that more were removed in one year than by all previous presidents (one writer says this was accomplished in one month), that 700 were removed and that 930 were removed. Others say that "great numbers" were removed while yet others, following after Professor Fish, only refer to the removal of presidential officers while stating that there was no clean sweep. There is general agreement on one point only and that is that Jackson introduced the spoils system into politics.

But the new viewpoint questions the whole thesis in relation to the spoils system. Data available from official and ex-official organs and from public documents make it apparent that there was no clean sweep or wholesale proscription. There were no 2,000 removals in the first year. That figure emanated from a senator who was substituting guess work for fact—a practice not entirely extinct. As nearly as can be determined there were 919 removals in the first year and a half—about one-eleventh of all the federal office holders at the time. Not over one-fifth of all the office holders were removed in the eight years of Jackson's presidency. There was no cleansing of the "Augean Stable" as the *Telegraph* had threatened. Duff Green certainly did not have his way in this matter.

Because Senator Marcy of New York asserted that "To the victors belong the spoils" is no reason to assert that Jackson shared the view. On the contrary he was not a wholehearted "spoilsman." Some of the outstanding removals were made because of corruption and incompetence. Jackson believed in the idea of rotation in office but nevertheless he allowed a large portion of office holders of opposing political faith in office. He further gave serious attention to the improvement of the civil service but could get no Congressional coöperation.

Finally, it should be observed that the spoils system had its inception in Washington's administration, that Jefferson removed at least as large a proportion of the office holders as were removed under Jackson; that the spoils system was flourishing in various states, and that its introduction on a small scale under Jackson was very natural under the circumstances. At the worst Jackson merely contributed to the introduction of the spoils system. The Whigs who followed Van Buren did a much more complete job of fastening the spoils system on our national government. It is absurd to say, as has been commonly done, that Jackson, more than anyone else, is responsible for introducing the spoils system into our national government.

Another new viewpoint on the politics of the period is in regard to the veto of the bank re-charter bill in 1832.⁴ The *Globe* gave plenty of indication of the President's unwillingness to have the matter considered before the election of that year. Also, after the matter was placed before Congress, his hostility was made perfectly apparent by his official organ. In view of this his veto should have occasioned no surprise. Much has been written since about the unsoundness of the veto message. Jackson questioned the bank's constitutionality as he had a perfect right to do in relation to the bill for re-charter. Yet he has been roundly condemned for taking this ground after the Supreme Court had twice ruled the bank constitutional. He attacked the bank as monopolistic and aristocratic and he hinted that it had interfered in politics. All his reasons have been ruled by many critics to be insufficient.

But the veto message alone is not sufficient evidence on which to pass judgment on President Jackson. He was not able to say all that he wished there, but where he left off the *Globe* began. Taking his message as a text, the official organ published a series of seventeen articles before the election of 1832 upholding the President and savagely attacking the bank. It certainly made a strong case in favor of the veto. Disregarding what was said about constitutionality, aristocracy, and monopoly—and there was much said on these topics—the most important contribution of the *Globe* was to

show that the bank was abusing its position as a quasi-public institution and financial agent of the government by actively engaging in politics. It showed how the bank, by contracting loans, sought to force support in certain parts of the country. It made it clear that Daniel Webster as well as the heads of the two parties opposed to him in the presidential campaign namely Clay and Sergeant of the National Republicans and Wirt and Ellmaker of the Anti-Masons were all paid attorneys of the bank. It also revealed that accommodations in the form of loans to Congressmen had increased in number, and amount was also shown—the purpose, according to the *Globe*, being to insure their support to the bank in the re-charter fight.

But most effective of all was the charge, supported by the report of a congressional committee which investigated the bank early in 1832, that the bank had by liberal loans secured control of important newspapers. Among the most prominent of these were the *National Intelligencer*, the *United States Telegraph*, and the *New York Courier and Enquirer*.

To condemn Jackson for vetoing the bank re-charter bill, to call him an ignoramus with no knowledge of constitutional law and economics, is merely to exhibit lack of knowledge on the part of anyone who takes such a stand. The bank officials and their political advisers thought to drive Jackson from power in the election of 1832. They miscalculated, for their venture into politics gained nothing but eventual extermination of the bank.

Other new viewpoints,⁵ gained chiefly from a study of official organs, are in relation to the Eaton affair, Jackson's attitude towards internal improvements, the distribution of the surplus, the specie circular, the Jackson attitude towards the circulating medium, foreign affairs under Jackson, and Jackson's Indian policy. Space forbids a full discussion of these viewpoints but it should be pointed out that the basis of the Eaton affair was mostly political and that Mrs. Eaton was not completely ostracized by Washington society. Jackson was opposed only to local internal improvements but allowed more money to be spent for internal improvements during his administration than in all previous administrations. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were chiefly responsible for the distribution of the surplus and in so far as it was a cause of the panic of 1837 they, and not Jackson, were to blame.

His specie circular was not issued without warning, for it was preceded by two other circulars. It certainly hastened the panic but there can be no doubt that the panic would have occurred anyway, though it might have been delayed a little. Jackson's support of the "Gold Bill" of 1834 showed

that he favored "hard" money as against "rag" or paper money. In foreign affairs Jackson made much progress. Trade was promoted by many favorable commercial treaties. The French spoliation claims, unsettled since the Napoleonic wars, were disposed of and the British West Indian trade, closed to the United States since the Revolution, was opened up. When it is considered that such statesmen as John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay had failed to settle these problems with France and England Jackson's achievements appear all the more notable.

In refusing to uphold the Supreme Court decisions in regard to the Georgia Indians Jackson was animated by more than hatred of John Marshall. He was inaugurating a policy of Indian removal west of the Mississippi with which the decision interfered. The large number of Indian treaties under Jackson is the best evidence of the success of his policy.

Another new viewpoint on the period, one which had no particular connection with official newspapers, is in relation to national nominating conventions and platforms.⁶ It is common to refer to the Anti-Masonic convention of 1830 at Philadelphia as the first national convention. But this convention had no particular significance except in so far as it arranged for the Anti-Masonic national convention at Baltimore in 1831. This second convention was unquestionably the first bona-fide national nominating convention in American history. The precedent which it set has been followed ever since.

But the convention did more than nominate party candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. It issued an address to the people which deserves to be designated as the first national party platform issued by a national nominating convention. The address set forth the principles and policies of the Anti-Masonic party which is about all any platform does. It differed from modern platforms in that it designated the party candidates by name and urged support for them. The spring following this Anti-Masonic convention saw the assembling of a Young Men's National Republican Convention at Washington, D.C. This convention drew up a set of resolutions condemning Jackson and endorsing Clay. Many have accepted this set of resolutions as the first platform but the reason is not clear. If these resolutions constituted a platform, then the Anti-Masonic address was also a platform and is entitled to rank as the first platform.

THE EFFECTS OF "JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY"

So far attention has been given entirely to an explanation of a few new viewpoints on political phases of "Jacksonian Democracy." But, as Pro-

fessor Schlesinger pointed out a few years ago, the term includes much more than the politics of the period. In its broadest sense "Jacksonian Democracy" embodies "a transformation of American society that made itself manifest not only in the sphere of government but in almost every other phase of human thought and endeavor."⁷ The term is merely a convenient designation, for, outside of politics, Jackson's influence was not felt.

How new this viewpoint is may be realized by examining a volume on the subject published in 1906 and comparing it with more recent volumes. It is a far cry from MacDonald's *Jacksonian Democracy* to Fish's *The Rise of the Common Man*,⁸ yet the change in viewpoint has mostly come in about a score of years. With the new literature easily available it is unnecessary to explain in detail the various phases of Jacksonian Democracy which have received and are receiving attention.

The development of American democracy has come to be considered a part of a great wave of democracy which swept the western world in the late twenties and thirties with varying results.

The development of the frontier and the rise of an organized, class-conscious laboring element have been carefully studied in relation to the rise of democracy to a position of dominance. As the Beards state it, Jacksonian Democracy was "A Triumphant Farmer-Labor Party." But it was more. Out of the new democracy came the movement for free public school education and with it an increased development of higher education.

The period saw strange manifestations of democracy in the realm of religion. Mormonism came into being; Unitarianism flourished; Universalism had its rise; while in the west various evangelical faiths were rapidly spread by numerous revivals. Anti-Masonry, in its beginnings, was essentially a religious phenomenon, as is most of the modern opposition to secret societies.

Humanitarian work got under way during this period. The temperance movement received a definite start. Progress was made in abolishing imprisonment for debt. Attention was given to prison reform. Improvement was made in the care of the insane. A start was made in the movement to shorten the working day. A peace movement was launched and various communistic experiments were set up.

The anti-slavery movement took definite form in the Jacksonian era. An anti-slavery press was started and organizations were formed. By the close of the period, the anti-slavery question had definitely entered politics where it was to remain until the Civil War.

Improvements were made in the standard of living. Important inventions were made. Transporta-

tion was improved by the beginning of the railroads and trans-oceanic steamship service.

American literature reached great heights during the era with such gifted writers as Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Poe, Emerson, Hawthorne, Sparks, Prescott, Irving Bancroft, and Bryant. Newspapers and magazines, not to mention important publishing houses furnished outlets for the writers of the day. Progress was made in art and science.

There are some of the new viewpoints of the Jacksonian period with which the student and teacher of history should become familiar. The field of learning is not static; certainly history is not. The development of the various viewpoints enumerated shows how necessary it is for the teacher to be alert and open minded if he or she would be the best possible teacher. The knowledge of yesterday is inadequate for today. The teacher who fails to absorb new viewpoints soon becomes ineffective.

¹ The charges and counter-charges featuring this campaign are discussed in the writer's "Official Newspaper Or-

gans and the Campaign of 1828," *The Tennessee Historical Magazine*, VIII (January, 1925), 231-247.

² The writer has treated these newspapers fully in an unpublished manuscript entitled, "Official Newspapers and Their Activities, 1825-1837."

³ The civil service is discussed more fully in the writer's article "The Federal Civil Service Under President Jackson," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIII (March, 1927), 517-540.

⁴ Briefly dealt with in the writer's "Official Newspapers and Jackson's Re-election, 1832," *The Tennessee Historical Magazine*, IX (April, 1925), 37-58.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ This convention is discussed in the writer's "Political Anti-Masonry, 1827-1843," *The Builder*, XII (December, 1926), 353-359, 378-379.

⁷ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints In American History* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), 200. The chapter "The Significance of Jacksonian Democracy" is an excellent summary of new viewpoints on the Jacksonian period, as are the first five chapters of his *Political and Social History of the United States, 1829-1925* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925).

⁸ Other excellent works treating new viewpoints on this period are Carl Russell Fish *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850* (A. M. Schlesinger and Dixon R. Fox, eds., *A History of American Life*, Vol. VI, New York: Macmillan Co., 1927); Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, Ch. XII (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927); and Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, V (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927).

The "Historical Newspaper"

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Have the possibilities of using the historical newspaper as a means of teaching history been thoroughly explored, developed and exploited? Every history teacher is familiar doubtless with the historical novel and its value to the student in reconstructing a picture of the past that lives and breathes. The historical newspaper with the student as reporter, artist, and editor is a keen instrument in developing creative powers.

Concerning the technique of producing the historical newspaper with a class, I am making a few recommendations based on a year of experiment with the method.

1. The catholicity of the present-day newspaper running the gamut of modern life as it does, and affording a cross-sectional view of that life, is too well known to require much comment. A study of the modern newspaper precedes naturally the making of one for any period of antiquity. The student becomes aware of the variety in the newspaper world by a tabulation of its departments: front-page news, editorials, advertisements, society news, comic strip, sports, weather report, religious news, travelers' letters, various signed articles by the "star reporter" or correspondent, scientific notes, shipping news, proclamations, and notices of vari-

ous kinds, the art, poetry and literature columns, the "bedtime story," and the interview with the notable.

2. Let the prospective editors and reporters soak themselves in the ancient lore with this proviso always in mind—the spirit of antiquity must be maintained. Imagine the modern newspaper corps turned loose in ancient Egypt. All incidents reported might have happened in that day and time. The credibility of the incident one may not doubt but the modern newspaper manner is apparent at the same time.

3. It is desirable for students to make a glossary of words and expressions peculiar to the period. This may be done during the reading of various source books, fiction of the period, and other reference texts. The individual glossaries may be pooled for common use. Glossary making gives a nice taste for rich words. Young people just naturally like to refer to "broad halberds," "motley plumes," "gibbets," "skalds," "varlets," "hauberk," "shekels," "zeechins," and "hostelry." With impressive "Hear ye's" they issue their proclamations. There are many values connected with the glossary making that will become apparent as the work goes on. Much reading is rendered painless with the glossary

as a motive. It gives a touch of precision to the whole proceeding.

4. Students should be urged to read all the period literature available in the home, school, and city libraries.

5. The actual writing is modern to a certain extent. There are the same headlines, the same terse jargon of today's press, the same exploitation of what it is that makes news. The "sob-sister" may perform for the benefit of the French emigrés or for the underprivileged medieval serf.

6. The time period should be extensive. The "daily" newspaper imposes too many limitations for the class. "This issue of the Babylon Bugle chronicles events between the years 4000 B.C. and 500 B.C." may serve as a specimen sub-title line.

7. The titles suggested are often breezy, more often prosaic: The Crusader's Herald, The Crocodile Chronicle (Egypt), The Medieval Banner, The Colonial Courier, The Revolutionary Tribunal (France), serving as examples.

8. To accompany the title the class artists contribute pictures that symbolize the period: for the Medieval Banner, a castle, two jousting knights, a court jester, the banquet hall, and a troubadour.

9. The home-made production, even if crude, is desirable I have found. I do not resort to the typewriter or mimeograph. Too much precision dampens youthful enthusiasts. We use news-print about the regulation size, printing in colored inks or crayons columns that are later mounted. The sheets are then clipped together and note-book rings are used for hanging them on the class-room wall.

10. Picture study should be emphasized. Again the artists may contribute as staff photographers recording for posterity the Pharaoh on a hunting expedition; Sennacherib in his war chariot. They may impersonate cartoonists with a "viewpoint," or comic-strip artists, illustrators of fashions or merchandise. Text pictures often suggest a significant news item, or the reading may suggest the original sketch.

11. The writing, editing, printing, and art work are of course done by students. A well balanced newspaper is an ideal for which to work. The born editor surprises a fond teacher by soliciting material judiciously.

12. The role of the teacher is important: she inspires and also censors; she calls attention to available research material and points out the possibility of a cartoon idea here, a vehement editorial there. I have found it desirable to ask for written suggestions first (the subject in some detail to be suggested and the manner in which the subject is to be treated). These suggestions are analyzed, advice given, and students urged to enlarge upon good ideas.

13. A touch or two in the lurid manner of the tabloid is not to be sneered down by the cultured element. The lurid manner has its place in a newspaper of this kind. Through it we keep in touch with the "despised" lower half of humanity. The ruin wrought by runaway camels, bad accidents at the Pyramid, summary execution of Phoenician pirates, desert raids, cataclysms of nature, and catastrophes domestic and national are all subject matter for the wide awake and proletarian reporter. "Arrow marks the spot" should be a slogan for at least a few illustrations. A broad and clever burlesque of some objectionable tabloid mannerism often is contributed surprisingly by some student so young that he might be pardoned for missing the point. It is salutary for youth to laugh at vulgarity and to see it laughed at.

14. The historical newspaper is varied enough so that every temperament may contribute. Let the prosaic recount the indubitable fact; the imaginative will spread himself with *largesse* over the cartoon, the signed article, the literary phase. The oratorical excel in the editorial; and the sardonic temperament handles well the sports and fashion page and some aspects of the tabloid material. The less gifted are often inspired headline writers.

As another method, the historical newspaper has much to recommend it for the reference shelf is used more and more enjoyably. The instructor is often instructed (which is always desirable). Today's newspaper is read and studied, moreover, with an eye for practical applications or modification and criticism of its ideas and methods. The ancient past is recreated realistically; and best of all, this project is a release to cramped imaginations that may ultimately spell mental health.

In the January number of the *American Historical Review*, Samuel Flagg Bemis discusses Washington's Farewell Address as a factor in the foreign policy of this country. He considers that in Washington's time the avoidance of a foreign alliance and foreign entanglement was a question of national independence

and national sovereignty. What we have generally construed as a policy of "isolation" we ought really to interpret as a policy of vigilant defense and the maintenance of sovereignty and national independence against foreign meddling in our own intimate domestic concerns.

Realities in Instruction in Citizenship

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The purpose of this paper is not to present a program for training in citizenship, but rather to establish a point of view as a basis upon which a program might be built.

If there is one point upon which educators agree it is that one of the prime purposes of education is to build a better citizenship. Yet this is the thing that we accomplish with the least success. Our improvement in the technique of teaching subject matter has been phenomenal during the past few years, but our efforts in teaching that rather elusive thing called citizenship seem to have been largely sterile. We are inclined to measure our progress in education by counting the increasing number of children enrolled in school; we shout from the house tops that we now have nearly five million youths enrolled in high school; we acclaim with unbounded rapture that we have more students enrolled in schools above the high school level than all the rest of the world together. But when we are faced with the question of what we are actually accomplishing in the matter of training for citizenship, we are silent.

For more than a century America has been committed to the idea of free tax-supported elementary schools and for about a half a century to the idea of free public high-schools. Each succeeding year has witnessed an ever increasing proportion of our youth enrolled in school. This increase has continued until at the close of the third decade of the present century nearly one-fourth of our entire population was in school. We have spent millions upon buildings and equipment; we have expanded our teacher-training facilities until we have created an army of nearly a million teachers with varying degrees of training. But in our mad rush to expand our educational system and in our exultation over our unprecedented success in so doing, we have neglected to take account of what this education is actually doing for our youth. We have been more interested in the "quantity" that has been going into the educational hopper than we have in the "quality" that has been coming out.

The evidence is unmistakable that education is failing to interest youth in the problems as well as in the practice of citizenship. The rank and file of those who leave our schools at the elementary or the high-school level show a supreme indifference to the problems of community of state, and of nation. The proportion of legally qualified voters who

actually vote at our elections has been falling steadily for forty years although the results of the last two presidential elections indicate that this decline may have been checked, at least temporarily. It is significant that this declining interest in political affairs has been concurrent with the phenomenal rise in high school and college enrollment. Comment has often been made that students in American colleges and universities exert no political influence. This is in striking contrast with the political activity of college students in other lands. In most other countries the university is regarded as a source of important political opinion. No political leader abroad dares to ignore this group. But in the American college and university student political opinion does not exist and political movements are practically unknown. The fact that our colleges and universities enroll the most promising product of our lower schools would seem to justify the expectation that in these groups at least we would find political activity and interest at a high pitch. That such is not the case gives added reason for holding under suspicion our method of citizenship training.

Two reasons can be offered for this wide-spread indifference toward the responsibilities of citizenship among youth. First, our citizenship teaching offers no challenge. This statement is based upon several considerations. My own experience with college students extending over a considerable period of time has impressed me with the utter bareness of the student mind in matters pertaining to citizenship. Students seem to be quite unconscious that there are problems of a civic or social nature that need to be grappled with. Evidently when they were taught that our Constitution was framed to create "a more perfect union," they imbibed the idea of perfection in our institutions and forthwith closed the book upon all problems that might emanate therefrom. Apparently also, any problems that were not settled in this manner were dogmatically disposed of by their teachers. Not long ago in one of my classes a paper was distributed to a group of some seventy-five summer-school students, a large proportion of whom were teachers in service, and asked them to state what they considered to be the two most important national or international problems by which the American people were confronted, and to write a brief paragraph about each problem. The results were amazing! Only three out of

the group seemed to have any conception of the meaning of the term, "national or international problem" and only two of these indicated any knowledge of the problems stated. One would scarcely expect these teachers to interest their students in citizenship.

Moreover, there is considerable evidence that the civics and history taught in high schools is of the "believing" kind rather than of the thinking kind. There are two popular conceptions of modern youth. One is that they stand ready to question everything and the other is that they are radical. My own observation as well as my objective studies among young people of junior and senior high-school age lead me to believe that quite the contrary is true. Modern youth constitutes a most believing and orthodox group. I have recently completed a study among more than six-hundred junior and senior high-school students in various schools located in northern Illinois. The purpose of the study was to discover the attitude of these students toward current political and economic problems.¹ If one were at all in doubt as to the political orthodoxy of youth his doubts would be dispelled on reading the results of this study. The investigation was based upon two lists of statements relating to political and economic problems which were considered to be of a highly controversial nature. Students were asked to respond to each statement, indicating the extent to which it expressed their belief. A very large majority in both junior and senior high school took a conservative position upon most of the statements pertaining to political affairs. To illustrate: The statement that "the government of the United States is controlled by the rich," was declared to be "certainly false," by 242 students and "certainly true" by only 52. The remainder was distributed in the zone of relative uncertainty. That "the laws are more favorable to the rich than to the poor," was declared "certainly false" by 143 and "certainly true" by only 35 and was generally rejected by the majority. That "criminals in our large cities are shielded by officials," was regarded as a false statement by a majority of the entire group.

The study shows that on the whole, there is practically no change in the curve of openmindedness from the seventh to the twelfth grade. The twelfth-grade group was just about as likely to show extreme prejudice as a lower-grade group. Political openmindedness does not seem to be among the virtues inculcated by our schools. If we make the assumption that there are relatively few statements in the field of political controversy which may be pronounced as either certainly true or certainly false, we may conclude that those who do so classify these statements, exemplify a lack of openmindedness.

Moreover, we would be justified in entertaining the hope that as students progress from grade to grade they would become more openminded; yet such does not seem to be the case. The investigation warrants two conclusions: first, these pupils seem to be the victims of indoctrinated beliefs and second, whatever political attitudes they possess when they enter the seventh grade they still possess in the twelfth, with a tendency toward a greater conservatism from grade to grade.

While this represents but one phase of citizenship training, it cannot be denied that it does represent an important one. The belief that all is right with the world and that there are no unsolved problems, represents the acme of intellectual stagnation. When one ceases to doubt or to question he ceases to think, for doubt is the thought one gives to a problem before he accepts or rejects it. Probably the greatest criticism that may be made of present-day teaching in the social studies is the air of finality which is assumed by teachers. Youth says, "Why should I be interested in problems which have already been settled?" or, "Why strive to find answers to my questions when I have teachers?"

When these young people come to college as a small fraction of them do, they come with that same air of finality which they possessed during their high-school careers. To shake them out of the complacency into which they have been molded during their earlier school careers becomes a serious problem and often requires a major operation. This intellectual lethargy resulting from the lack of challenge in their earlier civic training, is most difficult to overcome. But I believe firmly that it should be overcome and that these young people should be made aware that there are some unsolved problems. Particularly at the present moment when the world is in chaos, they should be led to see that this condition is the result of complacency and of a failure to recognize the existence of problems in our political and economic life. The president of one of our great universities said recently that the purpose of a college education is to unsettled the minds of young people. But the fact is that intellectual curiosity is almost totally lacking in the minds of these young people and the process of getting an education consists with a vast majority of them in evading any intellectual endeavor. They seem to say to me as I view them sitting smugly in their seats before me, day by day, "Now, I'm here; educate me if you can." Thus the education of youth, even in a teachers' college, becomes a game of hide and seek between pupil and instructor. Their aim is not to learn but to escape learning.

It is not the aim of the writer to place all the blame for this situation upon the earlier education of these students. We college teachers must bear

our share of the responsibility, for it is too true that we are often guilty of perpetuating this drab, lifeless type of instruction. A brilliant young student said in one of my classes a few days ago that "independent thinking carries with it a penalty in this institution. The chief emphasis in classes," he declared, "is upon what some author said or what the instructor had previously said and that any attempt to translate information into knowledge was penalized by a low grade." While this statement may be a bit strong, there is much truth in his point of view. So long as teachers continue to make the process of getting an education consist of the accumulation of factual material, just so long may we expect youth to view education with indifference.

The second reason for this wide-spread indifference of youth to matters relating to citizenship is that they have been given little opportunity to "practice" citizenship. One of the unsolved mysteries of education is how we can expect a person to learn to do what he does not practice. How can we expect students to develop civic intelligence and civic interest when they are not allowed to come into contact with real civic problems? In the elementary school, children are held firmly in the grip of superior authority. Generally, the seats in the school-room are screwed to the floor and the pupils are screwed to the seats, no one being allowed to leave his seat without permission from the autocrat in control. Pupils are told what to do, how to do it and when to do it. In the high school, little practice is afforded in the development of either individual or group responsibility, while the college represents the supreme example of unlimited monarchy. It is true that teachers do much talking to pupils about assuming responsibility, about self-direction and the development of habits of good citizenship, but rare indeed is that school which actually permits its pupils to function in the school as citizens. Students grow up under a régime of being watched. They are checked into their classrooms and checked out again like so much baggage; never are they trusted to come or go through decisions which they themselves have made. I am told that it is still the custom in many high schools to require students to arm themselves with permits before they may pass through the halls and that anyone in authority may challenge them at any time, requiring the student to exhibit his permit showing where he started from and when, and where he is going and why. This may be good school management but it is bad citizenship training. It is little wonder that good citizenship in the minds of many people consists chiefly in developing techniques of violating the law without getting caught.

Schools are usually organized and administered with no regard for the opinions or desires of the

students. It is not meant to imply that the contribution of pupils either to planning or administering the schools would in itself be of any great value to the school. The point I am making is that the school is ignoring the only opportunity it possesses for stimulating in students a genuine interest in citizenship. We have been told these many years that school is preparation for life, but it is difficult to harmonize our school practice with the fact that these boys and girls whom we are training in our schools are supposedly being prepared for life in a self-governing state. In general, our schools represent autocratic control in its most extreme form. It is not even a constitutional monarchy. It is impossible to defend an educational scheme which violates one of the fundamental purposes for which it exists. We train children in a monarchy and then wonder why they do not function democratically.

Teachers and school administrators still seem to keep their knowledge of the various phases of educational psychology in separate, air-tight compartments and never does knowledge in one field percolate through into another. There are certainly not many teachers today who do not know that we learn to do by doing, not by being told how to do. No teacher would expect a group of pupils to function as basketball players or as musicians by reading certain books on these subjects and then discussing its problems. We know that it is only by long and arduous practice that these things can be mastered. Yet teachers expect pupils to function as citizens, both during their school career and after, with no education in this field except that which is obtained from books and from talks by teachers on good citizenship. When will teachers of youth learn that it is not what the teacher "says" but what the child "does" that educates him!

If one of the primary purposes of education is to train youth to function as citizens, then it is contended that any education which fails or refuses to use the school as a place for training in the practice of citizenship rests upon a false foundation. No more effective way of creating indifference to the responsibilities of citizenship could be devised than to continue as we have in the past to shut out students from the privilege of assuming the responsibilities of citizens. The fact is not ignored that we have had and still have some schools which attempt with varying degrees of common sense to train pupils in citizenship; some of these have planned and executed their citizenship program so wisely as to merit our highest praise; some have been only moderately successful; while many others have adopted and operated programs which are positively vicious.

It is not my purpose to present a critical evaluation of the various methods of citizenship training,

but I cannot refrain from directing attention to some of the fundamental principles underlying a sound procedure. The first and most important principle has already been stated, namely that citizenship can be learned only by actual participation in citizenship activities. The second principle is that the activity in which the student participates must present a genuine life situation. By this I mean that there is no defense for creating artificial organizations and plastering them upon the school under the guise of affording pupils an opportunity of gaining "experience" in citizenship activities. The so-called school-city or school-state have no place in a sensibly conceived plan of pupil activity. The school is not a city nor is it a state—it is a school, and an attempt to teach any other conception of it is a deception and a distortion of the facts. The organization of "constitutional conventions," "state legislatures," or a "League of Nations" is defensible only as practice in dramatization. The sham and the artificiality of all this will be apparent to any group of pupils. The reality of the activity is the important idea to establish.

The third principle is that the activity must be one in which pupils may legitimately engage; that is, it must involve only responsibilities which the immature may rightfully and safely assume. The acceptance of this principle would banish from the schools all such things as pupil policemen, judges, juries and police courts. Functioning in such situations as these activities suggest far transcends legitimate pupil activity. The pupil-police court is based upon the erroneous assumption that because children are small and immature their problems and misdemeanors are likewise of little consequence and may therefore be disposed of by immature persons. Only a moment's reflection is required to discover the viciousness of permitting children to be disciplined by children. In real life we select our judges of childrens courts with great care and the selection of juries is protected by a procedure which is most exacting in its nature. We attempt, with slight success perhaps, to inculcate in the minds of youth a reverence and respect for law and the courts. It seems probable that this travesty of pupil-controlled courts would have a tendency to create the opposite effect. This does not imply that pupils should not participate in the discussion and in the making of school regulations. In fact, this might well constitute one of the valuable means of citizenship training. But the application of regulations, and the enforcement of penalties, is not a legitimate child activity.

The fourth and last principle is that activities should be selected for their value in citizenship training rather than because it is simpler, easier, or cheaper to place certain school responsibilities upon

children. My point is that children must not be set at tasks which others are paid for doing. The mere fact that they can perform certain tasks as well as their teachers or the janitors is no excuse for these responsibilities being placed upon them. Such activities as cleaning up the school yard, organizing sanitary squads, supervising study halls and patrolling the halls (if this should ever be permitted outside a penitentiary) should be placed under the ban. None of these are responsibilities which rightfully belong to the students of any school; they belong to teachers and janitors. Just what the citizenship values are in the activities just mentioned have never been clearly defined by those who advocate them.

The whole movement of citizenship training through pupil participation in school activities has been immeasurably retarded by its friends through failure to understand the principles involved. Under a certain widely used but foolishly conceived plan of pupil government which reached its height about thirty-five years ago, all of the disciplinary functions of teachers and much janitorial work in school buildings were turned over to the pupils under a plan of "city government." Cities were united into "states" and states were federated into a "national government." This movement spread to all parts of the United States and was officially adopted by the Federal government. Under this authorization the plan was established in the schools of our dependencies, particularly Cuba and Alaska. After a few years the movement collapsed because it was built upon a false educational philosophy. Although discredited by leaders in education, it lingers on and may still be found operating (I cannot say functioning) in a few schools.

Note the difference between the two expressions, "pupil government" and "pupil participation." The former implies the abdication of the teacher and the substitution of pupil authority. It is difficult to see how anyone who possesses even an elementary understanding of the intricacies involved in the training of children could subscribe to this principle. The fact that pupil government has been "successful" in certain schools, the glowing accounts of which may readily be found in current educational literature, is no defense of the plan. What is wrong in principle cannot be right in practice. The government of youth is far too complex a matter to be surrendered into the hands of the immature. We know that the mature wisdom of trained teachers has made a sorry enough mess of developing desirable character in youth; we can well imagine the consequences of surrendering authority to youth itself.

But the "participation" of students in the administration of the school is quite another matter.

This assumes in the first place that students will function only in such matters as lies within the capacity of the immature and second, that their authority is limited and will be extended only as increasing capacity for responsibility has been demonstrated. It is not necessary to present a list of legitimate activities in which pupils may participate. This has been well covered in the recent literature of this subject. One needs only to apply the four principles set forth here to the lists of pupil projects in citizenship as a means of eliminating those which are undesirable.

Teachers of wide experience have often declared that, because their experience with student control has generally been disappointing, they will have no more of it. It seems most logical to say, "I have tried it and it doesn't work, therefore I will have nothing more to do with it." But this point of view must be challenged. Citizenship must be taught, and like swimming, cooking or translating Latin it can be taught only by practice. To those teachers and administrators, whether in elementary schools, high schools or colleges, who say that pupil participation has been tried and found wanting and has therefore been discarded, I ask, what do you propose to substitute in its place? Or do you expect to continue to receive public money for a service which the public expects but is not receiving? If your teaching of English or mathematics indicated disappointing results, would you be justified in dropping these subjects from the curriculum? Those who are charged with the training of our youth can no longer hide behind that old subterfuge that pupil-teacher coöperation in school administration is impractical. Honesty should compel them either to confess frankly that teaching citizenship is no longer considered as one of the primary functions of the schools or to adopt a procedure in the teaching of citizenship which is psychologically sound. The writer knows of no substitutes for the principles which have been set forth in this paper.

No one should suppose for a moment that student participation would simplify the administration of a school. Monarchy is much simpler than democracy anywhere, and because it is simpler it requires much less brains to administer. Caution is

necessary against any substitution of a "chalk-and-water" type of student participation. There are too many schools already which claim to be operating under a system of genuine faculty-student control, but upon investigation are found to be composed of about 98.4 per cent faculty control or, perhaps more often, administrative control.

This discussion cannot be brought to a close without specific reference to the problem of the participation of college students in the administration of the school. The same principles as enunciated above are valid here. Especially is it important that the activities in which this group participates shall be genuine and that real responsibility shall be placed upon their shoulders. In many respects the college situation presents fewer difficulties than either the high school or the elementary school. The college group as a whole represents a higher degree of intelligence, is composed of a higher percentage of those who have a life goal in view and as a group are more mature; many have already reached the age at which the legal functions of citizenship may be performed. The college group offers a rich field for the development of citizenship. Responsibility may be greatly extended and may well represent an approach to genuine student government.

Never have the schools been confronted by so great a responsibility as at the present time; the responsibility of interesting youth in the far-reaching problems by which the nation is confronted and with which it is struggling. If students in high school and college are not having a stimulating experience in civics classes today then education is losing its greatest opportunity. Furthermore, unless these students are being permitted to engage actively in the solution of their group problems in school, thus laying the foundation for meeting those larger problems of democratic living, then teachers are derelict in their duties as the educators of youth.

¹ "The Measurement of Attitude Toward Current Political and Economic Problems in Junior and Senior High School Students." *Journal of Experimental Education*, II, No. 1, September, 1933.

Prince Hubertus Löwenstein in the December *Nineteenth Century*, finds The Real Germany only incorrectly represented in the election of November 12. Underneath the surface there is being slowly created a new idealism which when it comes into its heritage of power, will be not only its own fulfillment but that of the entire Western community.

G. Solari-Bozzi concludes his study of Jugo-Slavia under the dictatorship, in the last number of *L'Europa Orientale*. He summarises the situation as the result of youthful effervescence, and traces the influence of this new spirit in journalism, finance, commerce and industry.

An Experiment in College Freshman History

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It has been our fortune to live in an age marked by a fundamental change in the habits, customs, and ideas of mankind. There can be little doubt that we are in the midst of a great revolutionary period of human history. The trend toward a new social order is unmistakable. If this diagnosis is sound, and we have every reason to believe that it is, our responsibility as teachers of Social Studies is a heavy one. A planned society implies an intelligent society and it is our task to produce it.

The program in History and the Social Studies has been the subject of much discussion in recent years and while there has been agreement that these subjects should occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of the modern school, there has been displayed much dissatisfaction with the type of course offered and profound skepticism as to the results. Many have felt that the student leaves school without gaining any real conception of the world in which he lives, and lacks the equipment to function as a citizen of a democratic society. This criticism, which has been directed against the colleges as well as the lower schools, must be reckoned with, and efforts made to develop a program which is both realistic in concept and functional in operation.

My particular purpose in this paper is to deal with this situation as it concerns history; both with the content of the college course, and the method of presentation. Many have felt that the teaching encountered in the college has been inferior to that offered in the secondary school and, the college professor has been accused of catering to his individual taste and neglecting the interest of the student. It is not my intention to explore this subject but perhaps a few remarks might be in order. I do not feel that college teaching is necessarily inferior, but I am well aware of the fact there is room for decided improvement. Progress in this direction will result only when it is recognized that the primary concern of the college is to teach students and when professional advancement is assured the successful teacher. There has been too great a tendency to reward the productive scholar and to neglect the inspiring teacher. I am quite confident, also, that the proposal to force college teachers to take required courses in Education, which is being advanced in some quarters, will not

prove to be the way out. We will not progress by inviting the blind to lead the blind.

Time does not permit an extended discussion of the history program and I wish to limit myself to a discussion of the Introductory Course. Courses of this type have been the subject of much experimentation and many excellent projects have been developed. Most of these courses are of the survey type and seek to serve as an introduction to the field of Social Science in general. While there is room for real difference of opinion as to their effectiveness, I feel that many are open to serious objections. In the first place they are so broad in scope that it is difficult to deal in adequate fashion with anything in particular. There are no teachers available who are trained to give work of this kind since one must be familiar with many fields of learning and the training given in the graduate school is highly specialized. Attempts to divide the work between several individuals, each a specialist in a particular field, does not work well in practice. Finally it is difficult to arouse the interest of the student unless he is able to see clearly a connection with the world of today.

A survey course was offered for several years at Temple University but abandoned in favor of a more intensive course in European History since 1789 and there is no doubt that the change was in the right direction. We have no desire to return to a survey course, either of the orientation type, or to a course in general history.

While we have felt that a more intensive course in history is preferable to an extensive course, we have, at the same time, felt that certain improvements were very much in order. It has seemed desirable to get away from a presentation of European History as a mere sequence of events and to develop a course that was more functional in operation and which would result in the student acquiring a richer concept of our modern civilization. History teachers have too often failed to establish contacts between the past and the present, but have taken for granted that the student will do that for himself. Examinations in history which deal exclusively with the past do not impel the student to tie up the past experience of the race with problems of today.

During the past year an opportunity arose to

do some experimental work in the hope that a more effective course might be developed. A group of forty students was selected from the high schools and a special curriculum devised for them. Part of the work in the first year was in the field of history and I should like to analyze it for you. The period covered in the course included the history of Europe since the French Revolution, but the treatment was quite different than that usually encountered in the traditional history course. This difference I might call the "case method."

The course is based upon two fundamental ideas: the idea that history is primarily a record of the process and methods by which changes in the existing order have been effected, and the assumption that the present order has been brought about by certain fundamental influences. The processes by which change has been produced we assume to be revolution, evolution, and war. The influences at work during the past century and a half are nationalism, the trend toward democracy, and the effects of the Industrial Revolution. These factors were isolated and each studied as a unit.

The French Revolution furnishes an excellent opportunity to study the revolutionary process. Here we try to discover the causes for revolution, to determine the course taken by a revolution, and finally to determine its effectiveness as a method of social change. Contact with the present is established by raising the question as to the prospects of a revolution at the present time. While it is not possible to return any dogmatic answer, it is possible to discover that present day society does face the prospect of revolution if the experience of the past means anything.

After making a careful study of the French Revolution and having arrived at some tentative conclusions as to the revolutionary process, other revolutions are studied in the light of these conclusions with the view of testing their validity. Treated in this fashion the many revolutions experienced by the continental states take on new meaning, the Russian Revolution is better understood, and the student is able to interpret more intelligently the world in which he lives.

The history of England affords an excellent opportunity to study the process of evolution at work. Here we encounter a marked contrast with the experience of the continental states. By a process of gradual change England succeeded in achieving political democracy, in establishing new industrial relationships, and in building a new social order. At the conclusion of the study of the process of evolution as illustrated by the experience of England some comparisons are drawn between the two processes. Which has proved the more effective as an agency of social change? Which process appears to

be more desirable from the point of view of the people? No attempt is made to draw final conclusions, but the questions do provide food for thought and are stimulating to discussion.

In dealing with the subject of war we start by assuming that past experience has shown that war has been the only method whereby changes in the international *status quo* could be finally effected. The diplomatic history of Europe after 1815 is presented as an attempt on the part of the European states to discover a peaceful method of altering the *status quo*. Treated in this fashion the Holy Alliance, the Concert of Europe, the diplomacy of Bismarck, and the Hague Conferences, take on real meaning and the way is prepared for a study of the efforts made since the World War to develop effective international government. European wars are studied with the view of determining the causes for wars rather than as incidents in the history of important states. The situation which resulted in the World War is emphasized and an effort made to discover if this condition has been relieved since 1918. In our study of the World War we are not much interested in military history, but are very much concerned with making clear the realities of modern warfare.

Turning now to the other concept upon which this course is based I should like to explain, briefly, the manner in which we treat Nationalism, Democracy, and the Industrial Revolution.

Nationalism is approached from the theoretical side. Some time is given over to a discussion of the concept of nationalism along the lines developed by Professor Hayes in his *Essays on Nationalism*. After an understanding has been reached as to the meaning of the term we proceed to make a case study of nationalism in operation. The influence of the idea as exemplified in the experience of Italy and Germany, its destructive tendencies in the Austro-Hungarian Empire; and its more modern manifestations as shown by the Fascist movement since the war are all stressed. Since the phenomenon of nationalism lies at the very basis of our modern civilization, it is felt that too much attention cannot be given to its study and that every effort should be made to develop in the mind of the student a clear conception of its nature.

The Democratic movement is studied in similar fashion. After devoting a few sessions to a study of the meaning of the term and exploring a bit as to the origins of democracy, we proceed to a study of its history during the past century and a half. The experience of England is studied carefully and then an effort is made to trace the process by which the democratic influence has been diffused, not only to continental Europe, but to the United States and throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Democracy is not presented as the ideal type of government but efforts are made to discover its weaknesses and to understand the reasons for its apparent failure to take root in the nations of Eastern Europe. The treatment of this subject as outlined makes it possible for the student to see the movement as a whole, to study it in relation to other movements in modern civilization, and to become acquainted with many problems which form the subject of special study in subsequent courses in Political Science.

The Industrial Revolution and its influence in the world claims its full share of attention. The transition from hand to machine production as worked out in England is studied first and the process by which the new industrial technique was adopted by other nations is reviewed. The attention of the student is then directed to the many problems created by the Revolution which become the subject of special study under the direction of specialists in economics, sociology, and political science.

Two outcomes of the Industrial Revolution receive special attention: the revolutionary labor movements, and economic imperialism. Revolutionary labor movements, especially socialism and communism, are approached from the theoretical side. We endeavor to understand the ideas advanced by the Socialists and Communists and then so far as possible, study these ideas in practice. State Socialism as practiced in Germany, the social experiments attempted in New Zealand, and the great Russian experiment afford the opportunity to examine socialistic and communistic ideas in the light of actual experience.

Economic imperialism lends itself readily to the "case method." After making a careful study of the causes for the revival of imperialism in the 1880's a rather intensive study is made of Imperialism in the Far East. Other regions might serve as well, but the opportunity to take advantage of the current interest in Japanese Imperialism made the choice an obvious one. Attention was centered on the efforts of Japan to seek a solution of her economic difficulties by resort to a program of imperialistic expansion. The role played by the powers of Europe and the United States was made clear and some tentative conclusions with respect

Nothing shows more clearly the cosmopolitanism of modern Japan than the Table of Contents in the December number of *Contemporary Japan*: Japan and America; Japan's Naval Claims; The Budgetary Dilemma; The Rise and Fall of Japanese Communism; Japan and World Recovery; What is Wrong with Education; Birth Control; Tokyo's Homes for the Homeless—a far cry from the age of the Samurai! Lieutenant-General W. S. Y. Tinge's article "Some Economic

to the success of this method, of solving the economic problems which gave rise to the movement were attempted.

In conclusion I should like to suggest certain advantages which I believe result from the type of history course outlined above. In the first place I am convinced that this method of treatment results in investing history with a more definite meaning. By concentrating the attack on certain fundamental problems, by studying these problems as a unit, by endeavoring to ascertain the experience of the race in dealing with these problems; and by attempting to arrive at some conclusions the student emerges with a more realistic conception of the world of today than by amassing a multitude of facts concerning the past. Secondly such a course should provide an adequate introduction to subsequent work in the more specialized courses in Social Science since the student has been introduced to the problems involved, and has viewed them in their proper historical setting. Again, such a course can be effectively taught since it does not require special training on the part of the average college instructor. It has already been indicated that proper training for teachers who are asked to participate in general survey or orientation courses is not available in our graduate schools. In the absence of this special training it is necessary for instructors to practice for a number of years at the expense of the student, and by the time they have acquired some facility in the work they either leave for another institution, give up freshman teaching to take on more advanced classes, or the course is changed. This may seem to be a rather trivial consideration but I am convinced after ten years experience in teaching freshmen that it is not. Finally, it is to be hoped that the student emerges with an enlightened point of view. Unless the student continues to work in the field of history it is certain that he will not remember much throughout the years to come. Consequently we should not be too greatly concerned over the amount of factual information he may have acquired. Certain facts must be learned before any worthwhile thinking can be done in any field, but the primary concern, as I see it, is to develop an interest in our social, political, and economic environment that will carry on.

Achievements of Manchoukuo," though less startling, will be read with equal interest. He discusses in detail and at some length the tasks confronting the new government in that recently established province: the revision of the system of taxation which had been bleeding the people; the issues of worthless currencies; curbing the rampant banditry; meeting outstanding international obligations, equitably and promptly, all of which were a heritage of centuries of disorder.

Observations by a Visitor from Atlantis on Instruction in the Social Studies I¹

Reported by W. G. KIMMEL

A teacher of the social studies in Atlantis, possessed of an independent income, decided to take a leave of absence from his activities during 1932-1933 and visit foreign countries to make a first-hand investigation of instruction in his field of major interest. Among the countries visited, he became so interested in what seemed to him to be certain anomalies in social-studies instruction in the secondary schools of the United States that he decided to make a more intensive investigation of courses of study, classroom situations, and the relation of instruction in these subjects to the whole environmental situations. Only a few of his observations can be reported here.

While the youth of Europe are marching under the banners of Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler, with compasses, charts, points of reference, and an enthusiasm for the journey, regardless of uncertainties as to the destination, our youth, according to this observer, are floundering in confusion, trying without adequate points of reference to find their uncertain way through the ever-widening area between American ideals and fictions and American realities. That our youth are confused by the maze of contradictions between fictions and realities, try to gain their bearings amidst the multiplicity of appeals of institutions and entrenched groups, retrace their steps, and then advance boldly in another uncertain direction, is not surprising to our observer, because our youth, with many misgivings and reservations, are imitating the adult population to a greater or less extent in their desire for approval and prestige. Adult groups and institutions, according to our critically-minded observer, are much more concerned with the induction of youth into conventional stereotypes than with provisions for its guidance through the maze of institutional arrangements toward patterns of conduct that will eventuate into the good life for them.

Our investigator was also surprised to find that youth, although complacent and willing to have its interests diverted from consideration of the more serious pursuits and problems in contemporary life into extra-curriculum activities and athletics, is really living in a world of its own outside of school, with its own codes, standards of worth, and stereotypes. Parents seem to be willing to allow youth to prolong the period of economic irresponsibility,

playing with life, and unbridled exploitation of their supposed interests—and not infrequently of their parents—as long as possible. In fact, it has become one of the marks of social status for parents to support youth even through college years, and it is part of the ideology of parents to push forward as far as possible the period when responsibilities of real living in the adult world must be met. But with the growing willingness on the part of youth to experiment with social situations, the breakdown of parental control, the lessening hold of the church, the increasing tension of modern life, the greater amount of leisure, and the impact of the problems of the depression, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the social and economic arrangement must be changed to give youth a responsible status in the adult community at an earlier age than now obtains. It is entirely probable that these arrangements will have to be modified to permit marriage at an earlier age, at least among our educated classes.

With all of these and other related problems, our investigator found relatively little concern among school people. He was surprised to learn that, with all the emphasis on educational research, no extensive studies and investigations have been made of the roles of young men and women in an industrial society, the influence of the folk-ways and mores upon the educational offerings and processes, the influence of the cultural lag upon the educational process, the disparity between the ideals held before youth by the schools as worthy of emulation and the domination of their interests by avenues of success and ideologies of the business world in which they must perform to make a living, regardless of whether they may be able to lead inherently worth-while and satisfying lives.

From the standpoint of the visitor from Atlantis, it was fortunate that his period of visitation coincided with the years of the depression. These years, according to his observation, have served not only to debunk many finely draped theories and conditions in all phases of our community and national life, but they have rudely awakened the people to a realization of the deep fissures and faults in our economic, social, and political arrangements. They have listened to addresses and read articles by many who "sit in the seats of the mighty" that

contain all sorts of fallacies, set forth in ignorance or else knowingly presented with intent to self-justification.

They have witnessed the enactment of legislation that was previously repudiated by competent authorities in the social sciences. They have seen some bankers exposed, and the confidence of people in that business severely shaken. They have observed men in all types of high positions in the business and economic world sit tight, apparently impotent, waiting for the storm to blow over when they would expect to continue their operations under the old forms and arrangements. They have seen attempts at local relief usable in the eighteenth century exposed as totally inadequate in these days of modern transportation, communication, and highly complex social arrangements. They have observed those who formerly shouted blatantly the slogan: "More business in government and less government in business," humbly and gladly asking for subsidies from the federal government.

They have seen evidences of the cultural lag in appeals to individualism and other attributes of a frontier people, long since passed, made by persons who have contributed most to the development of a machine age. In the attempts to avert a total collapse, they have observed, at least during the early years of the depression, the attempted application of bankrupt notions and concepts, the refurbishing of fallacies long since exposed, appeals to magic formulae and incantation, and in general the struggle for power to avoid taking losses and to save one's self or class at whatever cost.

Meanwhile, amidst all the turbulence and maladjustments, youth in the long run probably has suffered most, through crowded housing conditions, the break-up of homes, the uncertainty of adequate and wholesome food, the lack of jobs when formal schooling is completed. Our investigator reports that youth in these difficult times, receives little help in a direct manner from the schools. The schools, like Roman riders, are trying manfully and fearfully to keep both feet solidly in the saddles, but under the pressure of powerful entrenched groups and forces in their respective communities, they lean heavily on the fictions, pretences, and stereotypes of these groups, while losing sight of or ignoring unpleasant realities through fear of antagonizing these powerful groups and forces. The schools either are not in a position, or are afraid, to strike out boldly to assist youth in either some immediate solutions of the problems faced by them or in those pioneering directions that will catch the enthusiasm and release the energies of youth, and may eventuate through a greater measure of collective action toward the good life in a better social order. Or-

ganized groups, moreover, bring pressure to bear on the secondary schools either to prevent instruction which reveals their unearned privileges and deep-seated prejudices and superstitions or to introduce propaganda that will create in youth the disposition to regard them favorably and to accept their stereotypes.

Our secondary schools, according to our acquaintance from Atlantis, with relatively few exceptions, stress conformity through attempts to condition the responses of youth in terms of "right," "proper," and "correct" institutionalized behavior patterns of dominant groups in the communities, by the use of rating scales of so-called civic traits, by the indoctrination of platitudes rather than the comprehension of basic ideas, and by encouraging mass responses to slogans such as "good citizenship," canalized in terms of the exploitation of interests in innocuous forms of extra-curriculum activities and athletics. According to our investigator, the Warramungas, primitive groups in Central Australia, and our modern secondary schools have at least one element in common in the social education of youth—both educate for a static society, that, at least in its dominant groups, is usually complacent, satisfied, and opposed to any change in institutional arrangements.

The social studies, our investigator maintains, should furnish valuable assistance in the guidance of youth through setting the present in proper perspective in terms of the past as well as of the probable future, with allied interpretations, concepts, and points of view. But the social studies, similarly to the schools and the communities, face the unpleasant dilemma in attempting to bridge the gap between American pretences and realities. Courses of study place much emphasis upon fictions and stereotypes that are a part of the great American dream, conceived as something already attained rather than as in a state of becoming, to be approximated, if ever, some time in the future. At best they only flirt with or entirely ignore the glaring and not infrequently unpleasant realities.

In a critical examination of typical courses of study in the social studies, our investigator from Atlantis found similar inconsistencies to those observed in modern life. He was surprised to learn that the superiority of our civilization over that of other peoples is so obvious that it pervades whole pages of these documents; that other peoples are by implication short-sighted because they have failed to accept and to copy our civilization in its entirety; that all major contributions to the world's culture, particularly in mechanical phases, are apparently made by Americans; that when other nations indulge in certain practices in order to gain

control of other peoples, such practices are labelled imperialism, but in the case of our own country they are referred to as contributing the advantages of our civilization to backward peoples; that we are the best governed, most prosperous, and most law-abiding people in the world, despite gang warfare in most major cities, crooked municipal politics, and millions of unemployed.

From these courses he also learned that we are so engrossed in the present that we can conceive of only those phases of history which outline in bold relief a steady development, labelled progress, to our present status as of any importance for the study of youth, without any consideration of other periods of retrogression; that we believe in freedom of speech, with no mention in courses of study of laws prohibiting it in some measure in more than thirty states; that there is equal opportunity for all to rise in economic status, with only incidental mention of our millions of unemployed; that our country is a land of opportunity for those of lowly status and for the oppressed of all the world, with little consideration of immigration restrictions, deportations, and discriminations against aliens in our midst; that we hold to the policy of no entangling alliances, with little reference to the influence of our foreign loans in relations with other nations; that competition is the life of trade, even though our recent industrial history is studded with mammoth corporations, trusts, mergers, and interlocking directorates; that Americans possess freedom of choice as to how they shall live and what they shall buy, with little mention or concern over the constant din and bombardment of advertising in every form that yearly costs the consumer millions of dollars; that we now have arrived in an almost perfect state of economic, social, political, and cultural existence—even though certain problems remain for children to study—with the strong probability that Utopia is just around the corner.

After the visitor from Atlantis had gleaned these insights from courses of study, he made a more intensive investigation of different parts of the courses. He was surprised to find what seemed to be a top-heavy superstructure of objectives. In these formulations, he found, with the exception of a small number of courses, a bewildering array of all kinds of statements. In form these were arranged in certain categories or dichotomies such as "immediate" and "ultimate," "intrinsic" and "derived," "general" and "specific," or "major" and "minor" objectives. In these really enormous lists of items, he found many which involved the widest stretching of the imagination to see any direct relation to the social studies. The largest number found in any one course for a particular grade is 135, while one unit

in another course is introduced by a list of 85 objectives; one course of study for junior high schools contains 47 mimeographed pages of objectives. Furthermore, these objectives are frequently subdivided into such categories as "knowledge," "understandings," "abilities," "skills," "attitudes," "appreciations," and "interests." The same objective may be found in any one of these categories in different courses. Presumably the only limitation imposed upon the number and classification of these objectives is the power in one's right arm or the amount of transfer of training gained by the inveterate devotee of cross-word puzzles.

Turning from the form of statement of objectives to the content implied, certain lines of evidence are revealed by our visitor. Few lists include any precise differentiation between elements of experience to be gained through the study of the social studies and those to be gained through other subjects, extra-curriculum activities, and other institutions in the community. Frequent references to ideals and aspirations are found, but these are never put into tangible form and anchored in the content of the courses. The lists abound in slogans, catch-phrases, and stereotypes, which are meaningless and really poor substitutes for thinking and ideas. There is almost no reference to concepts and processes.

The lists of objectives are frequently one-sided, partial, and unreal; for example, coöperation as a slogan rather than a concept or process is found in most courses, but the complementary concept conflict is almost never listed. Presumably pupils are to be led to believe that we live in a "pollyanna" world in which the concept conflict is unknown. The lists of objectives frequently contain masses of contradictory ideas; a narrow chauvanistic patriotism and the implied fostering of prejudices appear in the same lists with international understanding and world-mindedness.

Certain crucial problems are faced in the formulation of objectives, and alert teachers of the social studies, according to our investigator, are aware of these problems. When multitudinous lists of objectives which imply the conditioning of responses in pupils involve the attempts to form attitudes in terms of absolutes such as "right," "proper," and "correct" through indoctrination and other short-cuts which estop thinking, we face a vicious circle of reasoning and practice which threatens to defeat the basic purposes of the social studies, secondary education, and citizenship in a nation which uses representative forms of government. The situation with respect to attitudes is particularly deplorable, and it is little wonder that social psychologists view it with alarm. Our visitor

from Atlantis read an article by Rothwell² which characterized the situation in a form that is entirely worthy of repetition.

Concerning the teaching of attitudes there has been more soft-thinking than hard sense. Too often the inculcation of viewpoints has been confused with indoctrination. "Loyalty" is interpreted as devotion to certain institutions in the present social order, and the facts of civics or sociology or history are selected and presented in expurgated fashion to produce such "loyalty," albeit it is founded upon half-truths and hedges the student's mind in "straight-jacket" thinking. Until we recognize that genuine intelligent citizenship is of tougher fiber, capable of facing bold facts neither doctored nor adulterated, our attempts to implant attitudes will savor of the hothouse instead of the fearless and critical spirit of the true scientist. It is neither necessary nor desirable to produce youthful rebels. Yet one of the surest ways to do so is to indoctrinate students with platitudes which will not bear the first cold scrutiny of impartiality. A wholesome respect for the truth is basic to all other attitudes we may wish to teach.

When these unimaginative and intrinsically vicious attempts to foster attitudes are associated in practice with a conception of "good citizenship," which is puerile and focused upon conformist behavior of a narrow institutional type found in most schools, the very foundations of basic purposes in the teaching of the social studies are threatened. Pattern citizens, institutionalized behavior patterns fostered by rating scales of so-called civic traits, premiums placed upon conformist behavior on the part of youth conditioned to respond to all the well-known catch-phrases, symbols, and cliches—these are the dangers which tend to produce a static society, while the momentous mechanical and technological changes seem to demand a citizenship, a command of concepts, and a rhythm of action of an exactly opposite type. While group cohesion is essential to the orderly functioning of institutions, it must be based on a higher level of things than the current manifestations of conformist behavior and mass responses, upon which a premium is now placed in many of our schools under the guise of the innocuous slogan "good citizenship."

The saving situation in all these unimaginative practices and solemn mummary, according to our investigator, is the ease with which the great mass of pupils build up a defense against the things imposed upon them. It is probable, however, that only the intelligent pupils rebel, and even they are defenseless against practices beyond their power to control. A very intelligent daughter in one family, after her first week in a junior high school, said to the visitor from Atlantis:

I like my new work in social studies, but during the past three years in elementary school, I wanted to scream when "good citizens" were always mentioned by the teacher. I thought all that was over, and now I find it's even worse in the junior high school.

That alert teachers are aware of the effects of current conditions was indicated by a head of a social studies department who spoke as follows:

A farmer doesn't pull up his beets constantly to see whether they are growing, but overly anxious teachers, who have recently completed their professional training, dissect youth in terms of traits, qualities, interests, etc. They tend to make sensitive pupils unhappy and candidates for a psychiatrist, and "yes men" of the less sensitive pupils.

How instructions in the social studies can be dissociated from all these wordy barnacles, is not exactly clear to our investigator. Certainly some larger conception, some re-orientation, of the fundamental purposes of instruction in the social studies must be found and utilized by teachers. Our visitor found a recent volume issued by the Social Studies Investigation, Charles A. Beard's *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools*,³ which would seem to offer such a larger conception and to be suggestive for guidance in this connection.

In an examination of the fifty junior high and thirty-two senior high school courses our investigator found a motley collection of types of courses, many of which are offered in terms of basic content rather than the attached labels at almost every grade level in secondary schools in some city or town. There are, however, certain patterns in social-studies programs, which are woven into established practices. At the junior high school level, about one-third of the programs purport to be fusion, unified, or composite courses, as a whole or in part. Other programs include some type of geography as the most favored course for the seventh grade, with a few programs including European background; types of American history as the most favored course for the eighth grade; types of civics courses in the ninth grade, with some form of World history in order to complete a cycle of courses in a few social-studies programs. There are many marginal courses in a small number of programs; the combinations and arrangements of courses are so great that they defy any attempt to weave a pattern of preferences. In fact, it is apparent that most cities are striving to do something different from that found in other cities, and the result is confusion in terms of any well-defined patterns for the stabilizing of materials.

While the social-studies programs at the senior high school level reveal less diversity in practices than are found in those at the junior high school level, even here the combinations and arrangements of courses are numerous, and the same type of courses is found at most all grade levels in the different programs. World history is offered in more than one-half of the programs, while an alternative two-year sequence in European history is found in approximately one-third of the social-studies programs, and both types of courses, particularly a sequence of World history and Modern European history, find a place in many of the senior high schools in larger cities. American history or Ameri-

can history and civics, while offered in every grade, is the most favored course in the eleventh and twelfth grades.

At the twelfth-grade level, the programs favor the separate courses in Advanced Civics, Economics, and Sociology rather than the composite course in Problems of American Democracy. It must be remembered that the programs are mainly from the larger cities. Statutory requirements and other evidence would seem to indicate that the course in Problems of American Democracy finds a larger place in smaller cities and towns, while the separate courses in separate subjects, sometimes with the Problems course also added, find increasing favor in larger cities. Social-studies programs in cities on the Pacific Coast, and to an increasing extent elsewhere in the West, include a number of so-called "upper division electives," sometimes as many as six or eight one-semester courses at the eleventh- and twelfth-grade levels. The courses include, in addition to economics, civics, and sociology, local history, international relations, Latin-American history, current history, Problems of Democracy, and Pan-Pacific history. Geography, when offered at the senior high school level, is usually a part of commercial curricula, and is taught entirely by members of commercial staffs, with little or no relationship to the social studies.

Our investigator from Atlantis found eight types of fusion, unified, and composite courses at the junior high school level. Despite the differentiation between types, certain common elements are revealed. There are marked differences in the areas of social experience to which pupils are to be exposed, with a tendency toward increasingly broader areas of experience. Just why pupils at the junior high school level should be exposed to and be expected to encompass materials which are world-wide in scope and implications, while pupils at the senior high school level deal with limited areas of experience, is not entirely clear, even in the light of assumptions and hypotheses used to justify this approach. There are also marked differences in these courses in the organization of materials; in some courses the plan constitutes a veritable philosophy of history, while in others there seem to be no roots or foundations in the past, but rather a top-heavy organization focused upon alleged contemporary problems.

It is apparent that most of those composite courses have passed through a series of changes; in earlier form they presumably mark a radical departure from conventional plans, but step by step they are modified in accordance with corresponding changes in text materials until finally they again become conventional in plan with emphasis on geography in the seventh grade, history in the eighth

grade, and civics in the ninth grade. While the proposed content varies little in final form from that in subject courses, different labels and window dressing are attached to them. In the words of the "old timer," when one surveys all the efforts and the discussion during the past decade, he wonders "What's all the shootin' for?"

The newer composite courses, with few exceptions, stress economic and industrial content at the expense of social and cultural content, except of a very ephemeral and vague sort. Presumably these points of emphasis grow out of the focusing of the materials upon contemporary problems. The student of history, however, recalls that practically all elements of contemporary problems are found in earlier periods of history in different combinations. Even the phrase "rapidly changing civilization" encountered in these courses as a sort of slogan has a familiar sound to students of history. They will recall, with our investigator, that Saintsbury, while using different terminology in describing the Elizabethan period, writes of "the indefinable spirit of innovation and change which distinguished the sixteenth century after Christ, more perhaps than any single age in the entire known history of the world."⁴

There have always been new plans for the organization of materials, and these have been quite numerous during the past two centuries. Our knowledge of the history of education seems so limited that some of the present plans, labelled as something brand new by their contemporary advocates, are really modifications of those advanced one-hundred years or more ago.⁵ Even teachers whose experience covers twenty-five years will recognize in current plans the influence of such concepts as correlation, concentration, and coördination, although they are now couched in different terminology.

In the development of fusion, unified, and composite courses at the junior high school level, our investigator found certain illuminating episodes. In the introduction to a recent course of study, he read this statement.

Teachers are urged to take special notice that this entire course is called Social Science! They are requested to think and speak of "Seventh Grade Social Science," "Eighth Grade Social Science," etc., instead of "Seventh Grade History," "Ninth Grade Civics," etc. It has always seemed difficult for teachers to teach Geography or Civics if the particular course from which they are teaching is called "History," or vice versa.

He wondered whether this is an example of sublime naïveté, pedagogical mesmerism, or the magical power of words? He leaves the decision to you. The author of this classic effusion will doubtless be duly recorded by the investigator of the history of education in 2300 A.D. as a member of a curious but extinct species of curriculum makers.

The new proposals, while they are concerned with the manipulation of labels and much window-dressing in major divisions of materials rather than basic changes in fundamental content, constitute a challenge, according to our investigator, to the best efforts of persons who possess a broad and thorough knowledge of the social sciences. If these proposals are to be worked out in practice in the form of materials which will command the respect of social scientists, the work will have to be done by specialists and teachers possessed of an unusual grasp of content and relationships between the content of different fields. Not the least important reason for so doing will be the necessity of what the Orientals call "saving face" of some curriculum directors and educators who have proposed ambitious programs. A much more important reason will be to save the teaching of the social studies in secondary schools from being repudiated by thinking people, and to avoid being set back for one or more generations in the contributions which the social studies may legitimately be expected to make to secondary education.

Despite the current confusion, alert and competently-educated teachers and other leaders in the field seem to be in agreement on at least two points. All seem to wish a better integration of content, however difficult the problems involved in working out that integration may be. Nearly all are in agreement that a desirable integration has not been consummated in many of the currently proposed plans, however much promise they may hold if competently developed. The problems of a better integration are a challenge to the best minds of the teaching profession.

(To be continued)

¹ A report read before a Joint Session of the Department of Secondary Education and the National Council for the Social Studies, Chicago, July 3, 1933.

² C. E. Rothwell, "Trends in Social Studies Instruction—1931," *The High School*, IX (October, 1931), 4.

³ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932.

⁴ G. Saintsbury, "Elizabethan Society," *Social England* (H. D. Traill, ed.), III, 378.

⁵ Henry Johnson, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in the Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

HOWARD E. WILSON, *Chairman, Harvard University*

FEBRUARY MEETING, NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The National Council for the Social Studies held a series of meetings in Cleveland on February 24, in conjunction with the meetings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. A morning meeting was devoted to the discussion of the social-studies curriculum. Able papers on the theme were presented by Charles C. Barnes, Supervisor of Social Studies in Detroit, Gail C. Farber, of the John Marshall High School in Cleveland, and Edwin W. Reeder of the University of Vermont. All three speakers stressed the desirability of limiting the responsibilities which many educators tend to place on the shoulders of the social sciences, although no speaker was inclined to allow the curriculum to neglect its proper tasks. Mr. James B. Fenwick, East High School, Cleveland, presided at the meeting, which was attended by about three hundred teachers and administrators.

The toastmaster at the luncheon, attended by 150 teachers, was Charles W. Martz, of Western Reserve University. In the absence of W. G. Kimmel, Edgar B. Wesley, of the University of Minnesota, read at luncheon his paper outlining the policies to be followed by THE SOCIAL STUDIES in extending its usefulness to teachers and in widening the scope of its interests to include all the social sciences. Howard

E. Wilson read a paper on "How Mark Twain Might Have Written History."

The afternoon meeting was attended by about two hundred teachers and administrators. In reply to the question, "What Is Likely to be the Effect of the 'New Deal' on the Social Sciences in the Schools?" Henry Harap, of Western Reserve University, discussed the possibilities and necessities involved in consumer education under the new economic order and George W. Eddy, South High School, Youngstown, Ohio, reported on the activities of the consumers' groups in his own community. John J. Mahoney, of Boston University, discussed the "new deal" in the social sciences, especially as it affects franker facing of realities by teachers. Mr. Harap's paper is to be published in the March issue of *Progressive Education*; other papers read at the day's session will be published in THE SOCIAL STUDIES.

At a small dinner in the evening, a group of members of the National Council discussed plans for the organization's coming year. A number of investigations, to be announced later, will be undertaken by special committees of the Council. Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota, first vice-president of the Council and editor of the 1935 *Yearbook*, solicited at the meeting suggestions for the next *Yearbook*; he will welcome suggestions by mail from Council members as to theme and contributors. The Council officers pres-

ent evinced the desire to coöperate more intensively with local and regional associations interested in the teaching of the social sciences. The president of the Council, Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University, will welcome communications and suggestions from members of the Council and of other organizations looking toward such coöperation.

The next general meeting of the Council is to be held at Washington, D.C., on the occasion of the summer meeting of the National Education Association late in June.

BROADCASTS ON ART IN AMERICA

Under the auspices of the American Federation of Arts, and with the coöperation of the Art Institute of Chicago, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the National Broadcasting Company, a series of talks on "Art in America" is being broadcast on a national network each Saturday night. The programs (8:00 p.m., Eastern Standard Time; 7:00, Central Standard Time; 6:00, Mountain Standard Time; 5:00, Pacific Standard Time) began on February 3; those which are to be heard in April and May are:

- April 7. Classic Arts of the Young Republic
- April 14. Jefferson—Last of the Gentlemen Builders
- April 21. The First American Sculptors
- April 28. Steamboat Gothic and Romanticism
- May 5. The Hudson River School and Its Heirs
- May 12. A Century of Collecting in America
- May 19. Art and the Public Taste

An *Illustrated Guide* for the full series, containing eighty illustrations and brief summaries of the lectures, may be secured at a cost of one dollar from the University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

CURRICULUM BULLETINS ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

The public school system of Pittsburgh facilitates the teaching of current events by issuing periodically bulletins prepared especially for the use of its pupils. During recent months the Curriculum Department, under the direction of Roy O. Hughes, Second Vice-President of the National Council for the Social Studies, has issued pamphlets on

- Prosperity and Depression
- Gold
- Recovery
- The Menace of Crime.

The pamphlets, printed in the school shops, are distributed free of charge to pupils. A limited number is available for general distribution to teachers of other cities. Address Roy O. Hughes, Assistant Director, Curriculum Department, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

WORLD EVENTS

A "pocket periodical," titled *World Events*, edited by Devere Allen, is published by the Nofrontier News

Service, Wilton, Connecticut. The pamphlet, published twice monthly from October to June, inclusive, is available to teachers in the United States at an annual subscription rate of twenty-five cents. The publishers announce that they have correspondents and sources of information in most of the countries of the world; *World Events* is intended primarily as an "independent agency of information on the problems and progress of the peace movement." The Nofrontier News Service also "rents lantern slides, uniquely modernized, combining information with education in internationalism."

HISTORIC HOUSE MUSEUMS

Laurence Vail Coleman, Director of the American Association of Museums, has written a volume on *Historic House Museums* which lists over 400 homes in the United States which are now maintained as public exhibits. While the book contains some material of interest primarily to museum officials, it has also sections on the history of American houses and on the future of house museums. The volume sells for \$2.50 to non-members of the Association, and may be secured at the headquarters of the American Association of Museums, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

REALISTIC POLITICS

Teachers of civics who are desirous of preparing pupils to cope realistically with "practical politics" will be interested in a pamphlet titled *Civics as It Should Be Taught*, prepared by Richard Wellman and issued by the National Self-Government Committee, 80 Broadway, New York City, at ten cents per copy. The national fathers "wanted the schools to turn out voters not merely giving lip service to the Constitution and laws," writes Mr. Wellman, "but alive to the tricks of the politicians and bosses and keen to beat them. . . . Are not the schools perpetuating the very bulwark of bad government when they graduate young citizens helpless to cope with the politicians?"

SCHOOL CRISIS

The *School Crisis*, edited and published by A. C. Rosander, 1365 East 60th Street, Chicago, is a monthly leaflet devoted to schools and education. It sells for 5 cents per copy, fifty cents per year. The issue of February, 1934 (Vol. I, No. 4) contains an excellent summary of the report of President Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends. The report itself, originally issued in two volumes by McGraw-Hill, is now available in a one-volume edition, sold for \$4.25 by the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

CONSUMERS' GUIDE

The Consumers' Council of the Agricultural Adjustment Association, in coöperation with the Federal Bureau of Home Economics, issues and distributes free of charge a bi-weekly bulletin of great value to teachers and citizens who are concerned with the effect of current industrial operations on the consumer. The

Consumers' Guide is of aid "in understanding changes in prices and costs of food and farm commodities and in making wise, economical purchases." For information and copies of the Bulletin, address Dr. Frederick C. Howe, Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, D.C.

READER FOR PRIMARY GRADES

Houghton Mifflin announces the publication, early in April, of a social-studies reader for primary grades titled *Jimmy, the Groceryman*. The book, which correlates other subjects around the social studies, is written by Jane Miller and illustrated by Berta and Elmer Hader.

HISTORY IN THE CURRICULUM

Rolla M. Tryon presents significant data in an article, "One Hundred Years of History in the Secondary Schools of the United States," in the *School Review* for February, 1934 (Vol. XLII, No. 2, pp. 93-103). He reviews the entrance and establishment of history in the curriculum and the revolt against history, and presents the present outlook for history as a secondary-school "subject." He points out that an astonishingly small number of adults of the present generation were even "exposed" to history in secondary schools and insists that history has never been given an adequate trial as a medium for citizenship-education. He urges that secondary schools give history a fair trial before condemning it as impractical for the purposes of general education.

BROADCASTS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The seventh series of broadcasts on governmental affairs, sponsored by the Committee on Civic Education by Radio, began on Tuesday, February 13, and continues each Tuesday night through June 19. The series, entitled "Reviving Local Government," is sponsored by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, the American Political Science Association, and the National Municipal League. The topics of the programs for April, May, and June are:

- April 3. Progress in Pennsylvania
- April 10. State and Local Government in Control of Liquor Traffic
- April 17. From the Heart of the Depression (Detroit)
- April 24. Local Government and the New Deal
- May 1. Suburban Troubles
- May 8. Chicago over the Hump
- May 15. Schools for Municipal Officials
- May 22. News from the South
- May 29. The National Administration and Local Reorganization
- June 5. The Schools in Local Revival
- June 12. The Voter and Local Revival
- June 19. What Are the Prospects?

Pericle Ducati contributes an exceedingly able account of the Illyrian pirates and their activities from

Copies of individual broadcasts are fifteen cents each; the entire series is \$2.50. Cash or postage must accompany orders. Address National Municipal League, 309 East 34th Street, New York City.

DEPARTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENCE YEARBOOK

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association announces that its yearbook for 1936 will be devoted to the curriculum in the social studies. It seems unfortunate that, to date, the committee responsible for the preparation of the yearbook contains no specialist in the social sciences or in the teaching of the social sciences.

REGIONAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

On March 14, New England members of the National Council for the Social Studies met for a dinner meeting at the Faculty Club, Harvard University. Speakers at the dinner were W. G. Kimmel and Howard E. Wilson. The meeting was designed to enable New England members of the Council to meet one another and exchange experiences and ideas; the officers of the Council hope it is only the first of a series of such meetings to be held throughout the country.

The regional meeting was held in conjunction with the annual Harvard Conference on Teaching Social Studies. At that conference, held in the evening, W. Linwood Chase of Boston University, presided. The program, dealing with methods in teaching, was as follows:

"The Use of Tests in Classroom Teaching," Roy A. Price, North High School, Quincy, Mass.

"Plays and Pageants in the Intermediate Grades," Elgie Clucas, Runkle School, Brookline, Mass.

"Arousing Pupils' Interest in Social Sciences," George Lundberg, High School, Framingham, Mass.

"Making and Using Maps," Victor E. Pitkin, Junior High School, Reading, Mass.

"The Art of Asking Challenging Questions," Kenneth E. Gell, East High School, Rochester, New York.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE IN THE CURRICULUM

"The study of contemporary life is an essential part of education at the secondary school level," writes A. K. Loomis of the University of Chicago High School in an article titled "Should Contemporary Life Be Studied in High School?" in the *Nation's Schools* for February, 1934 (Vol. 13, No. 2, Pp. 31-35). Such teaching is not to be merely treatment of current events, but is to involve the actual focusing of more traditional subject matter on contemporary life. Efforts to effect this end at the University High School are described in Mr. Loomis' article. A full description of the curriculum of the University Laboratory Schools is to be found in the *Fourth Yearbook* of the National Council for the Social Studies.

Roman days to the twelfth century, to the January number of the *Nuova Antologia*.

Notes on Periodical Literature

By GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS

Henry Goddard Leach summarizes the first year of the Roosevelt régime in the *Forum* for March as aiming to brighten the lot of the average citizen, to establish the principle that citizenship carries the right to earn one's daily bread, to create for all of us a more abundant life. The five most definite deeds of the past year are, he says, the smashing of the veterans' lobby, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the condemnation of child labor, the recognition of Soviet Russia, and continentalizing the Monroe Doctrine. The flies in the Roosevelt ointment are: new bureaucracy in place of discarded bureaucracy, return to the spoils system in certain appointments, petty graft in the administration of public and civil works, further breakdown in public education, postponement of the crusade against crime, and dilatory justice. The biggest event in the year did not happen—the Great American Revolution. "This much-heralded catastrophe got no further than the temporary closing of the banks and a few black eyes among the farmers. All incipient signs of revolution were dissolved by the catalytic force of Roosevelt's courage. Who wants to go back to March 3, 1933?"

Sir Norman Angell contributes some notes on the political foundations of the Roosevelt experiment to the *Contemporary Review* for February. Despite the fundamental oscillation of American public opinion, its dominant characteristic, there are certain trends of the American democracy bearing on that experiment which are almost invariable. "One is the close association of an inflationary monetary policy with the popular democratic side of politics and of sound money with the wealthy privileged class. Another is a distrust of the whole governing class, a hostility to administration coupled with a demand for increasing control of economic forces by the government. Still another is the popular conception of democracy and a fourth is the overlapping of government functions as exercised by city, county, state, and nation." The result of this study on the part of Sir Norman suggests the political question: "How is the inefficient, incorruptible bureaucracy capable of control to be created out of the existing elements? The spirit which has created the N.R.A.; the boldness; the initiative, the taking promptly of vital decisions is magnificent. But magnificence of itself will not win battles of peace any more than battles of war."

The "Stavisky Scandal" by "an observer" is carefully analyzed in the March *Atlantic*. Not only the incidents culminating in the riots are discussed, but the whole financial policy of France and the situation which made the pawn-shop scandals possible are revealed, as they have existed since 1926. "There are men at liberty in France today, carrying on business as bankers or financiers, who have been charged with

all kinds of offenses but never brought to court; others have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment but have never served them. The principal reason is not dishonesty or even slackness on the part of the government, but a shortage of magistrates, old fashioned methods, and the contradictory provisions of the law itself."

Louis Fischer, writing on "Litvinov's Diplomatic Year" for the February *Fornightly Review*, says that no other foreign minister has spent as much time abroad during 1933. Nor did any other minister register so many important political successes. The last and most brilliant of these, the United States *de jure* recognition, merely crowns a whole series of diplomatic triumphs which have inordinately strengthened Moscow's internal position and fundamentally modified its foreign policy. Litvinov is himself a rugged realist. The World Revolution earlier predicted apparently is not coming and the Soviet Union has needed fruitful contacts with the outside world. She has proceeded unsentimentally to establish these. Another change in the foreign policy is the gradual coolness developing between Germany and Russia and the friendship being cultivated with France. Germany is just now an unprofitable ally for the Soviet Union; Hitler is unpopular and the approaching French *rappart* is the answer to a long period of irritating incidents concerning attacks on the Union.

If Japan and Russia fight—this year, or the next, or the year afterward—a quick stalemate from exhaustion is the only hope that the rest of the world can escape being involved. In either case, war or collapse, the consequences are bound to be costly. The Far East has festered to a point of eruption. The poisons injected by a hundred years of international rivalry have worked through the organism, and the only result must be a conflict of national ambitions, says Nathaniel Peffer writing in the March *Harpers*.

In the symposium on Germany and Geneva (*Political Quarterly* for January-March) W. E. Rappard speaking for Switzerland says while hoping for the best the world must quietly and reluctantly prepare for the worst; Christopher Lange reviews the effect on the Labour party in the coming Norwegian elections and Louis de Brouckere of Belgium urges united action by a concert of powers acting for the salvation of Europe.

Francis R. Waddington's contribution to the *Revue Politique* for January on an interview held with Bismarck in the spring of 1883 throws new light on the coronation of Alexander II, as well as on the budding alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy.

Book Reviews

Edited by HARRY L. CARMAN AND J. BARTLETT BREBNER, *Columbia University*

History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century. By Benedetto Croce. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933. 375 pp. \$3.50. Translated from the Italian by Henry Hurst.

He who parts with his hard-earned \$3.50 and buys this book in the hope of learning more history and adding something to his knowledge of nineteenth century European history will perhaps soon find himself bewildered, as was the reader of *Alice in Wonderland*, who, having enjoyed that work of the Rev. Dodgson so well, sent for the other works of the same author. To be sure, the difference between this book of Croce and other conventional histories is not so great as that of *Alice in Wonderland* and, say, *A Syllabus of Plane Algebraical Geometry*—not quite, but the point of view and its exposition is as great. If other histories are considered as hardly anything more than a mere catalog of facts and events, designated as political, social, or economic histories, then this work—a history of factors and forces that gave rise to facts and events—may be designated as intellectual history. That is why its reading is unlike many a history book; instead, it reads at times like Whitehead's *Adventures of Ideas*, other times like Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*, and not infrequently it runs something like Ortega y Gasset's *The Modern Theme*. Now let us see this intellectual history as conceived by the Italian philosopher.

The nineteenth century history, and especially that of Europe, is the history of liberty, or ideas and ideals that find their embodiment and development in the attainment of liberty. First there was the idea, the new concept, which turned into "The Religion of Liberty," and, as such it had to face other opposing religious faiths. The chief and the most powerful of these were the Catholicism of the Church of Rome, the governments of absolute monarchies, and communism (which at that early date was not clearly distinguished from socialism). In the first round (1815-1830) of this "continual battle" between liberty and monarchic absolutism victory went to liberty and to liberals, culminating in the July Revolution. Thenceforth liberalism gathered new forces and progressed steadily for another round of about fifteen years, until it came into conflict with social democracy—the utopists and Marxist communists. In the "Liberal-National" and the "Democratic-Social" revolutions of 1848-1849 it had to suffer a setback in face of the rising reaction. But this was only for a few years, for, from 1851 to 1870 there was the revolutionary revival and the national organization of Europe, with which movement liberalism kept a steady pace. The unification of Germany, however, introduced a change in the public spirit of Europe. This change was perceptible in the dominance of natural sciences, physics, mathematics and mechanics over the "Philosophico-historical thought," which gave rise to the philosophical "pseudo-theories," and "pseudo-herme-

neutics of history." From then on man "felt himself attached to facts, urged on by facts, but lowered in his feeling for liberty." And, though the period from 1871 to 1914 is termed "The Liberal Age," the author states with regret that "at this time few indeed were the poets, thinkers, seers, apostles, to introduce light and warmth . . ." for "empiricism and naturalism continued to hold the stage." This debasement of ideas and ideals was in itself bad enough, but the rise of a new economic order, the extension of the idea of imperialism and the resultant complications of international politics gave rise to a new situation which in its turn led to the World War. That, the author thinks, was the natural climax just as it was inevitable. And what, in the meantime, became of liberty? Did it vanish from the scene of human activity? Such are the questions that come to the mind of one reader, but the author does not venture to give an answer to them, for an adequate answer may place his very life in grave danger. On one occasion, however, he states that "liberty is a divine gift, and the gods sometimes take it away from men, who are eternal children, and remain deaf to their supplications and do not give it back until they have once more become worthy of it." That in itself is suggestive and almost satisfactory.

Such is the narrative of the intellectual history of Europe running through a long period of the eventful years of 1815-1914, which is called by many historians the "Prosaic Age" and which the author prefers to call the "Age of the Spirit." The narrative that proceeds with an even flow of a vigorous and vivacious pen, reinforced with an ineluctable logic and sincere convictions, may easily claim to have no superior within the Fascist state of Italy. And the reader is grateful to *Signore* Croce for giving him such a beautiful history of the obvious yet elusive forces and factors. Nor should he fail to compliment the translator of this work for having performed a difficult task with consummate and masterly skill.

It has often been said that Croce is, by "universal consent," the supreme intellect in Italy. If such an intellect displays an almost unreserved and violent contempt for communism, both in theory and practice, then one may excuse Il Duce for his unwarranted and unbridled attack upon the communists. It certainly is a pity that such a beautiful and humane and prolific mind could see nothing—or, almost nothing—but the destruction of liberty, the undermining of free initiative, and the debasement of individuality in the Soviet Union. This perhaps can be explained in part by the fact that Croce is the robust and uncompromising champion of individualism among few of the great philosophers, though his individualism, be it noted, is something different from our late "rugged individualism."

A. O. SARKISSIAN

University of Illinois

English Public Finance, 1558-1641. By Frederick C. Dietz. The Century Company, New York, 1932. xviii, 478 pp. \$4.00.

In this volume published for the American Historical Association, Professor Dietz has carried on the studies which he inaugurated some years ago in *English Government Finance, 1485-1558*. Its timeliness is attested both by our general ignorance of the subject and by the present-day crisis in government finance. About three-fifths of the book is given over to an historical discussion of the development of revenue policy and administration, while the remainder is devoted to "special studies in revenue and expenditure." This latter section treats in a revealing fashion such topics as the land revenues, the customs, subsidies, military costs, and court expenditures.

The historical section places the period in a different light from that in which it is generally seen. The glories of Elizabeth's day appear but the brilliant facade of a building that was humble brick and mortar and little enough of that. Back of the imposing achievements of Drake and Hawkins was the harried Burghley, pursuing the most petty money-raising expedients and practicing the most trifling economies. During this period it became increasingly clear that the old revenues were inadequate owing to mounting costs and the price, revolution. Nevertheless, the old conviction that the ruler should "live of his own" except in times of military crisis dominated much political debating. On the other hand, the early Stuart period saw the rise of a

totally incompatible theory, namely, that it was best for the state to make the king financially dependent on Parliament, for then the real control of the state would pass to that body. Inasmuch as the Commons insisted on both of these theories, it is quite clear that the "Puritan Revolution" cannot be entirely laid at the door of royal ineptitude. The constitutional history of the seventeenth century should never be written so narrowly again now that this volume is available. The financial predicament of the Stuarts with their treasurers who were often too avaricious, too weak or too tactfully honest to be successful and with their Parliaments who wanted to call the tune without paying the piper or else to get an entirely new piper, goes far to explain the loss of King Charles's head.

In addition to its value for English constitutional history, this volume confirms again the axiom that there is nothing new under the sun. The activities of the public racketeers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries anticipated in many ways our own Teapot Dome and Air Mail escapades. In conclusion it may be said that Mr. Dietz has greatly added to our knowledge of a hitherto obscure aspect of English history with this study based on an extensive use of manuscript sources. While wishing that he had ventured more generalizations, we may take profit from the material that he has presented in the formulation of our own.

CHARLES F. MULLETT

University of Missouri

A new two-year history by PAHLOW MAN'S ACHIEVEMENT



I. To the Age of Steam, ready April 15

The new Pahlow history provides a two-year course as vivid in presentation and as rich in original devices as "Man's Great Adventure", the author's famous one-year course.

I. To the Age of Steam.

The second book is in preparation.

GINN AND COMPANY

Boston New York Chicago Atlanta
Dallas Columbus San Francisco

Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485-1603. Edited by Conyers Read. New York, Oxford University Press, 1933. xxiv, 467 pp., \$8.50.

Professor Read and his colleagues, Professor Cheyney, Professor Neale and Dr. Caroline Ware, have brought to completion the coöperative work of members of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society in carrying on the bibliography of British history from the end of Charles Gross' *Sources and Literature of English History . . . to 1485* to the beginning of Godfrey Davies' *Bibliography of British History . . . 1603 to 1714*. It comes at the end of a long trail of hopes deferred and of earnest individual effort which extends back to 1908. Professor Cheyney relates the history of the enterprise in his introduction with a self-effacing tact that is happily remedied so far as his work is concerned by the editor in his preface. The list of workers is an impressive one and only their coöperation over the years in contributing or supervising the contributions to their fields of special expertise has made possible this now indispensable aid to the student.

The editor has followed the plan of Gross and has aimed at "something approaching completeness" in arranging and listing printed sources except those dealing with cultural and local history. The selection of books has been critical instead of exhaustive, with some, included for the sake of the warning attached to them. The arrangement is very usable and is quite well supported by the index. From scattered tests the whole apparatus seems to work admirably and the inclusion of important articles in journals and in transactions of learned societies adds greatly to its utility. The editor warns readers of what he considers to be weaknesses and also asks all students of Tudor history to regard themselves as collaborators in a later edition. This modesty on his part should not be allowed to obscure the sense of gratitude among the same students to the editor and his assistants for having given them such a remarkable tool to go on with in the meantime.

B.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte, a Study of His Writings with Special Reference to His Nationalism. By H. C. Engelbrecht. Columbia University Press, New York, 1933. 221 pp. \$3.50.

Fichte has been variously interpreted by writers to suit their special purposes. By some he has been viewed as a rabid nationalist and a proponent of war. In the opinion of these, he is to be held responsible for having helped to create the war sentiment in Germany which ultimately led to the World War. Others, on the contrary, have viewed him as an ardent apostle of peace, desirous, above all, for international comity. Extracts from his writings are cited to show that Fichte was actually a forerunner in propounding the idea of the League of Nations. Still others have regarded him as a liberal in politics, whereas conservatives have claimed him as one of themselves.

Dr. Engelbrecht's book, by painstaking examination of Fichte's political writings, essays to show that these

various interpretations are based on isolated and misunderstood readings of Fichte's works. In other words, the purpose of the study is corrective. Fichte, according to the author, had no consistent philosophy, but adapted his opinions to changing circumstances. Thus, for example, in his early writings Fichte tended to disparage the state. Subsequently, however, he reversed his attitude, and held the state to be pivotal in any social scheme. Such reversals of judgment are properly understood only if they are viewed in the light of Fichte's own personality. Impulsive to a high degree, he was led to espouse first one viewpoint and then another. His political philosophy was not organic, but rather a patchwork of miscellaneous elements drawn from manifold sources.

The author is at his best in exploding the myths which have grown up about Fichte's outstanding work, the *Reden an die deutsche Nation*. It is upon this book that most of the distorted interpretations of Fichte are based. Dr. Engelbrecht first disposes of the popular story, repeated by most writers, that Fichte delivered the lectures at the risk of his personal safety. According to this, because Berlin at this time was occupied by the French, enemy spies were planted in the audience on the look-out for any suspicious statements he might utter. The danger to Fichte when delivering the lectures was, as the author shows, not as great as commonly supposed. Any possible danger was minimized by the fact that the lectures were cultural rather than political in content. Whenever mention is made of the French it is always from a cultural viewpoint. Actually, the French took little notice of his proceedings. Secondly, the author questions the theory that the *Reden* had any appreciable influence on the thought of the time. The assumption that Fichte incited the German people to rise up and drive out the enemy is not founded on fact. From the available evidence it is hardly correct to say that the lectures were even received with enthusiasm. Mention of them in contemporary newspapers, correspondence, and writings is exceedingly meagre. When the *Reden* were published in 1808 they were a publisher's failure. But few reviews of the book appeared and these were by no means always favorable. It was not until much later that the influence of the book made itself felt.

When he deals with Fichte's contributions to the doctrine of nationalism, Dr. Engelbrecht is on less sure ground. What actually were Fichte's contributions does not emerge from his account. He does, it is true, state that most of Fichte's ideas were not original, but fails to single out those that were. Also Fichte's place in the history of German nationalism is not clearly defined. It is, of course, impossible to assign to Fichte his proper rôle without taking into account the work of such important predecessors as Leibniz, Möser, and Herder, which the author unfortunately fails to do. Nevertheless, this study should be of considerable value in dispelling current misapprehensions concerning the thought of this important German philosopher.

ROBERT R. ERGANG

New York University

The Portuguese Pioneers. By Edgar Prestage. London, A. & C. Black; New York, Macmillan, 1933. xiv, 352 pp., \$4.00. (*The Pioneer Histories*, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.)

The editors of *The Pioneer Histories* have done a great service to students by getting Professor Prestage to draw together the records of early Portuguese maritime enterprise. The accounts in English have been either romantic and undependable or rare and scattered about in inaccessible places. Many controversies have existed, and the literature concerning them, particularly when in Portuguese, Spanish or Italian, has been very inaccessible. The publication of this volume with its synthesis of modern scholarship provides a dependable chronicle at last and its footnote and textual references give access to the arguments on matters still in dispute. The book is written with deference to the limits of probability wherever the evidence is scanty or contradictory and its grave style is a welcome change from the aggressive certainty of writers with smaller claims to scholarship. Here and there readers will find some patches of moralizing comment which read a little oddly in a modern work, but the attitude behind them does not intrude into the orderly revelation of the history.

Most general students of history are familiar with the outlines of the Portuguese enterprise in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which is recorded here, but not many are aware either of the explanatory body of supplementary event or of the conclusions drawn from materials uncovered during the past generation. While it is true that there were irreparable losses of source material in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, large quantities of early records, notably those in private possession, have still not been examined by scholars. Each year, however, new revelations from the Torre do Tombo and other sources are being made and related to accepted interpretations. Such work is making it seem likely, for instance, that the Portuguese were in American waters about 1452 and that Brazil had been visited thirty years before Cabral. Unfortunately the most tantalising field of speculation remains still very uncertain, that is, the enterprise during the last half of the fifteenth century embracing Portugal, the Azores, the British Isles, Iceland, Greenland and North America. It is to be hoped that some day a lucky discovery will fill out the fragmentary structure of fact and hypothesis which has been built up by Dr. H. P. Biggar and others.

Probably the greatest usefulness of this volume will be that it gives systematic order and credibility to a sequence of events which when briefly stated border on the incredible. The Infant Henry ceases to be a freak of nature and the congress in Portugal of Italian navigators, Dutch and Fleming traders, and crusading Knights from all Europe becomes understandable. Prester John's reality is explained by the extraordinary overland trade which extended from Senegal to Syria and Abyssinia, and that trade becomes possible when one sees how cheap and inexhaustible was African man-power. The learning of the way to India took

almost a century, but at intervals during that time fragments of the geography were acquired, now from Italy, now from Morocco, now from Egypt, now from West Africa and now from Abyssinia or India itself. Moreover, during that time maritime exploration continued to pay its way and promise large profits farther on. In many ways the culmination of the process was the battle of Diu in 1508, when Almeida's nineteen ships smashed the combined forces of Egypt and the Indian trade-ports and thus substituted Portuguese for Italian monopoly of the Eastern trade in Europe. Professor Prestage carries his pioneers onward to the Spice Islands, China and Japan and indicates why the monopoly could not survive. His concluding chapter, "Navigation, Cartography, Ships and Seamen" might well have been much longer, but presumably considerations of space cut it short.

Messrs. A. and C. Black are to be congratulated on the admirable book-production which characterizes the volumes of this series. Every detail of the make-up is winning and the decorative map from Sir Emery Walker's studio are thoroughly in keeping as well as being quite adequate.

B.

Europe Since Napoleon. By Franklin C. Palm and Frederick E. Graham. New York: Ginn and Company, 1934. x + 852 pp. \$4.00.

This book is announced by the publishers as "a new history of Europe built around a significant unifying concept—the rôle played by the middle classes in the evolution of Western civilization." In eight grand divisions and in forty chapters the thesis is championed that it was the middle classes in all their variegated activities which set the tenor of life between Waterloo and the depression of 1929.

In fact, there is a tiny question in the reviewer's mind whether the thesis has not been too well championed. As Bernard de Voto points out in a recent article on this very matter, it is difficult and at times misleading to attempt to assimilate too much into one sweeping generalization. A system of society that has produced Bismarck and Lincoln, Marx and Cardinal Newman, Moltke and Tolstoy is not easy to compress into a neat and coherent logical unity. The historian, of course, as Dr. Beard pointed out last December at Urbana, must have some sort of faith by which he guides his scholarly work; and to that extent Messrs. Palm and Graham must be commended. It is only when too much is explained by one single principle that a doubt occasionally creeps into the reader's mind.

Among the excellent ancillary features of this book are its attractive end papers, its numerous amusing and well-selected cartoons from the contemporary press, its good maps, and its thorough index. The maps deserve special mention. The colored maps—e.g. the one on p. 516—usually carry with them a standard of comparison which makes them unusually clear. The black and white maps are also drawn with conspicuous clarity. An excellent illustration of this is the map of Manchuria on p. 795. The bibliography is complete,

and in most instances well-selected. It seems odd, however, that in their chapter on the development of the United States the authors mentioned only one of the Schlesinger-Fox series. Likewise, for many readers the bibliography would be more useful if it contained critical comments in addition to the listing of selected works. The student is very properly advised by Messrs. Palm and Graham to consult the *Guide to Historical Literature*, and Armstrong and Langer's recent bibliography whenever he can.

Among the excellent features of the book the reviewer noted three which deserve mention. The discussion of internationalism before the war, pp. 465-476, is an unusually well-written chapter, and one that is the more valuable in view of the present emphasis on highly nationalistic policies in so many places. The short summary of "war-guilt" on pp. 526-528 is a model of discriminating judgment based on the best contemporary thought in the matter. The observations on World War propaganda which begin on p. 560 are unusual to find in a college text-book, and are that much more welcome. In view of recent developments under such men as Dr. Goebbels, every historical student must be informed at the earliest possible moment of the pitfalls by which clever and unscrupulous propagandists will seek to trap him. This treatment of propaganda in the late war might well have been even more detailed and the appended bibliography even more complete.

The authors of this book have attacked their problem from an interesting angle. They have patiently built up a carefully worked-out structure of thought and fact. They have tried honestly, and almost always succeeded, in being impartial and just. Their conclusions will in most instances be accepted by all careful students of modern history. Their volume is a good one.

DUANE SQUIRES

Colby Junior College

Great Britain and the German Trade Rivalry, 1875-1914, by Ross J. S. Hoffman. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933, 363 pp.

It would be difficult to phrase more aptly the aim and purpose of the volume under review than is done by the author himself, in the opening lines of the Preface: "This volume represents an effort to describe three features of British history in the forty-odd years before the outbreak of the war in 1914. They are: first, the inroad made by commercial and industrial Germany upon the far-flung business empire of Great Britain; second, the British national reaction to this German rivalry; and third, the influence of that rivalry upon the shaping of British policy toward Germany. The unity of my study consists in the organic relationship between those three subjects."

Within the reasonable limitations which he has thus set for himself, Dr. Hoffman has done an admirable piece of research. It has, of course, long been a matter of common belief that the growing trade rivalry between England and Germany was an ominous factor in contemporary international relations. But now there has become available for the first time a clear analysis,

with ample documentary support, showing precisely how far Germany's trade development affected Britain's commercial life and fortunes and describing the manner in which the people and government of England reacted to this circumstance. Because of the special angle from which he has approached his subject, Dr. Hoffman has been able to do a thorough job while depending largely, almost entirely, on British materials, including the official statistical abstracts, annual statements of trade and navigation, and consular reports; scores of newspaper editorials and articles in periodicals; and numerous general secondary aids. The extracts quoted by the author have been skillfully selected and arranged.

After making a prolonged analysis covering more than two hundred pages and containing some interesting statistical charts, Dr. Hoffman comes to the conclusion that British fears of Germany as a dangerous commercial rival were first manifested plainly in the middle eighties, but that the first widespread national alarm over German trade did not appear until the nineties. In the earlier decade, such alarmist views as did make their appearance were officially discouraged and generally dismissed as a protectionist's nightmare. But in the nineties, when German commercial progress was considerably accelerated, when German imports into England increased, and when the British people were suffering from hard times, there was evident a "high measure of national apprehension." Indeed, and perhaps not unnaturally, the fear of German commercial rivalry always seemed to be greatest in years of British trade depression. When times were good, the German menace was temporarily relegated to the category of back-page news, only to loom all the larger with the return of hard times and economic crisis.

The reaction in England, which apparently was a mixture of "admiration, scorn, envy, bitterness, fear, and indignation toward the Germans," became intensified when the competition was extended from the search for markets to the building of ships, and even more serious when the shipping rivalry led to an open struggle for the control of the seas and naval supremacy. The whole situation assumed the form of a vicious circle, for "the pressure of German business on British markets drove Britain towards protection and imperial preference, while the drift towards [British] tariff reform stimulated German navalism and imperialism. These in turn steadily heightened British alarm."

Perhaps the most interesting section of the book is that which deals with the question of trade and its influence on Britain's German policy. For that the veritable "made-in-Germany" complex which gripped Britain in the closing years of the nineteenth century, and the shipping and naval rivalry which "was getting considerably hotter" with each passing year of the twentieth, should have conditioned British official policy towards Germany is self-evident. In this connection Dr. Hoffman comes to the highly important conclusions that: "It would be a grave historical error to ignore British dislike of German militarism and political institutions, disapproval of German diplomatic methods, distaste for German manners, and distrust of

German political ambitions, as factors in building the mountain of Germanophobia in Great Britain. But it is surely quite reasonable to doubt whether Englishmen would have seen so much to detest in Germany had the commercial rivalry been nonexistent. . . . The British Government may stand acquitted of making war for the ends of trade, but that the anti-German orientation of the British mind and British world policy sprang chiefly from the great economic competition seems incontrovertibly proved." Moreover, "the Germans were not very long in Belgium before men in England, were talking frankly, yes patriotically, of the glorious opportunity for stripping Germany of her trade, her colonies, and her ships."

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

Columbia University

Countryman's Edition of Morey's Ancient Peoples. By William C. Morey and Irving N. Countryman, American Book Company, 1933. 646 pp. \$1.84.

The Private Life of the Romans. By Harold Whetstone Johnston (revised by Mary Johnston), Scott, Foresman and Company, 1932. 430 pp. \$1.24.

Countryman's new edition of Morey's *Ancient Peoples* is happily not just one more text in ancient history to be added to the rather crowded assemblage of books in that field. Those teachers who have used the old edition will be delighted to know that the new one retains the excellent features of the late Dr. Morey's well known book. These include an accuracy of statement, a simplicity of arrangement, and a refreshing clearness which render this text-book eminently fitted for use in the ninth and tenth grades of those schools still maintaining ancient history as a separate discipline. The chapters on the ancient Orient are absolutely up-to-date. Mr. Countryman has added several new illustrations, lists of questions for review, and a thoroughly revised bibliography. Finally, a totally new feature is the table of brief biographical sketches. How welcome is this to those of us who are preparing pupils for the College Entrance Examination Board!

Teachers of both ancient history and Latin will hail with enthusiasm Mary Johnston's revision of Dr. Harold Johnston's standard reference, *The Private Life of the Romans*. In these days when even in secondary school history, we stress the whole culture of a people, and not merely military and dynastic facts, a certain amount of library work is essential. Both teacher and pupil will enjoy consulting this well known tool for one of the most important periods in the history of civilization. Text, maps, illustrations, and bibliographies are all that the most scrupulous scholar could demand. Latin terms are given throughout the book, but one can easily refer to it or read it continuously without knowing a word of that language. Fortunately, Miss Johnston has been able to add much fascinating new material, due to the recent rich finds at Pompeii and elsewhere.

DAVID A. ELMS

Fresnal Ranch School,
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The Shape of Things to Come. By H. G. Wells. Macmillan, New York, 1933. 431 pp. \$2.50.

The distinguished novelist attempts in this, the latest of his books, to give us a history of the next one hundred and fifty years. Though it may be considered shrewd fancy rather than history in the usual sense of the term, Mr. Wells' prolific mind and range of ideas make it worth while to pay attention to his predictions. Space will permit but the framework of Wells' vision for humanity.

In a skillful subscript, the author describes the sudden death of Dr. Philip Raven of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. This gentleman left in shorthand a "Dream Book" consisting of the fragments of dreams as to the future of the nations. Undoubtedly inspired by Edward Bellamy, it thus avoids the physical difficulties of Mr. Julian West in *Looking Backward*. Mr. Wells, presumably, is the literary executor of the deceased Dr. Raven.

From here the volume proceeds to describe background of the Age of Frustration, from just prior to the World War to the year 1933, by which time "progress" comes to an end by the double calamity of the failure of the League and the world economic débâcle. This period is succeeded by frustration itself, which lasts until past the middle of the century. This quarter century sees the wide increase of semi-military organizations and dictatorships, the end of the period of peace in extensive official wars in the Far East and in Central Europe, which widen into the second World War of 1940-1950. This in turn is followed by a depopulating raid of germs from the poison gases laid down over entire countries during the war period.

Europe, from 1950 to 1960 is a continent in which the governments recognized by the Treaty of Versailles are still legally in existence, but which have mostly ceased to function effectively. Their entire scope is mostly that of policing a small area, or a limited amount of tax collecting and debt paying. A similar process has gone on in the United States, federal authority there having shrunk to Washington and its environs. Over the entire world communications had nearly ceased, trade was stagnant, financial and military administrations have collapsed.

In the works of a man named De Windt, a writer of the period of frustration, was born the set of ideas which was later to blossom into the World State. This man enunciated new principles of economic and political life which were finally to bring order into the chaos of the world. Banking was to be "entirely public and entirely gratuitous"; all forms of gambling were to be criminally punishable; money was to be abstract, entirely free from any material weight and based upon no material substance; a man's earnings and spendings were to be registered like births and deaths; the dissolution of the family was to be accepted as inevitable, to be replaced by a new social nucleation (of groups small or large) which should proceed as rapidly as instinctive forces would allow. Parliamentary democracy was an evil, which alternately built up and then destroyed, governmental agencies, with benefits mostly to "disingenuous careerists" and to no one else. Intellectual criticism was to be tolerated in the new State,

but opposition never. Thus De Windt's revolutionary propaganda, involving a new educational system, a universal money and a scrapping of all democratic political systems, spread among technicians, scientists and business executives until all were talking revolution.

It remained, of course, to develop means with which to carry out this world revolution. These were evolved at Basra in two international conferences, in 1965 and 1978. The first one grew out of the need for greater coöperation between the members of a Transport Union of shipping and airplane operators. At the Conference it was proposed to take over all existing airdromes, lighting fields and harbors, to register and number every airplane in the world. Aircraft refusing to accept this control were to be treated as pirates and eventually driven from the air. The force to execute this plan was to be a special air police. The objections of the delegates from Soviet Russia and of "Soviet" Japan as out of harmony with the national inclinations of their countrymen, were silenced by the threat of denying them a return passage to their countries. This grand scheme was of course greatly assisted by the ineffectiveness of world governments in general, but was hampered by the long disuse and deterioration of world communications, which had to be re-established by the Sea and Air Ways Control. To finance the scheme, there was to be devised an "air dollar," a paper note representing distance, weight, bulk and speed. Thus it was a new "energy" money in terms of transport. With their new Air Control and new energy money, the renewed exploitation of all available sources of energy was to go on as soon as possible; the notes of the Control were to be the medium of exchange of goods with any economic group willing to treat or trade with the Control. Finally, by Basic English, the language of the Conference, a vast system of educational propaganda should spread the idea of the new World State.

After 1965 a ten year period of rapid revival of world trade and business began; the former business middlemen of the early twentieth century began to collect and deliver for transport the products of local areas to the ships and planes of the Air Control. The new capital class which thus arose sought to place obstacles in the way of the new State and necessitated the calling of a second conference. This body considered various plans of meeting this threat to their plan and decided upon ruthless suppression of all pretended governments. This was comparatively easy, since nearly all political and economic life, other than that under the control of the World State, had either ceased to be or was badly scattered and helpless before such a gigantic monopoly of the air. By 2050 the process was complete and the way was at last open for a new phase in the mental, physical and economic life of man. Productivity was to be intelligently controlled, the products of nature were to be scientifically distributed, wars to be stopped, a new understanding of the capabilities of man to be attempted.

Or so Mr. Wells would have us believe. It would be easy enough to find fault with some of the arrangements of the World State of Mr. Wells. What, for in-

stance, would make of the technicians of Basra, so wise and unselfish and successful a World Cabinet, apparently immune to the accumulated errors and traditions of the historic past? How could world control be so narrowed down that a few men, working harmoniously and cosmically, could determine the next phase of human development? How could Mr. Wells be sure that such control, if established, might not take a destructive turn; some maniacal dictator of it might take a notion to destroy the human race. Would there be no revolutions in the World State, no struggles between rivals for the supreme power, and if so, what would become of the Air Control while they were having it out among themselves? But such, perhaps, is to intrude the ideas of 1933, with all their restrictions, into a scheme devised for the age ahead. If we must have "Utopias," it would be hard to find a more novel or ingenious one than this of Mr. Wells.

C. R. HALL

Adelphi College

The Revolution of 1917. By N. Lenin. International Publishers, New York, 1929. Vol. XX: Book 1, 381 pp. Book 2, 428 pp. \$3.50 per book.

Toward the Seizure of Power. By N. Lenin. International Publishers, New York, 1932. Vol. XXI: Book 1, 304 pp. Book 2, 350 pp. \$2.50 per book.

The volumes under consideration, comprising letters, articles, and speeches by Lenin, span the period between February and October of 1917, a time when the fortunes of the Bolsheviks hung in the balance. An evaluation of a work which treats of such historically significant events, and the no less significant personality of Lenin, leads one to the thesis that the October Revolution represents largely a synthesis resolved out of the interaction of certain crucial events and the genius of Lenin. To follow through this thesis brings one face to face with the question of the rôle of genius in history. This being so, it would seem fair to ask, what was it in Lenin's struggle for power which enabled him to exert such tremendous pressure in determining the direction of the October Revolution.

To begin with, there is his appraisal of the February Revolution, upon which Lenin based all his tactics. The February Revolution in Lenin's opinion, was a bourgeois revolution. Yet the bourgeoisie as represented by the Provisional Government ruled through the sufferance of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies, "a workers' government in embryo, a representative of the interests of all the poorest masses of the population." Lenin viewed this dualism of power as an anomaly which could not endure: "There is not the slightest doubt but that such a combination cannot last long. There can be no two powers in a State. One of them is bound to dwindle to nothing." Thus the urgent problem, as Lenin saw it, was how to supplant this dual power by the single unified power of the Soviets. And to Lenin this could not be achieved without affecting a union between the agrarian sector of the population and the workers in a joint fight against capitalism. He repeatedly insisted

that outside of such a union the workers' struggle for power was doomed to failure. In the application of Lenin's slogan "All Land to the Peasants" one finds the method whereby a union between the workers and peasants was to be achieved. When in the summer of 1917 the Social Revolutionaries failed to carry through their promise "to confiscate the landowners' lands and transfer them to the peasants," the Communists stepped in and gained the all-important ally.

While consolidating this gain, Lenin was already looking ahead. Like a military leader who holds that the best defense is a well executed offensive, Lenin laid the lines for an attack on the enemy. He did not fail to foresee the dangers to the Communist cause in a separate peace with Germany, initiated by the rightist factions; he did not overlook Riabashinsky's threat to starve the workers into submission; nor did he pass up lightly Kerensky's attempt to concentrate armed counter-revolutionary forces in and around Moscow and Petrograd. He studied carefully the forces of the enemy, but "because there were still lacking the objective conditions for a victorious uprising," he felt that in July and August the moment was not yet ripe. Because of the disorganized condition of the enemy in October he assumed that they could be defeated and the hour to strike was on hand.

How was the seizure of power to be effected?

First, Lenin insisted on reducing the element of uncertainty to a minimum. In this view «Hoping» that «the wave [of dissatisfaction alone] will sweep Kerensky away» . . . is the same as relying on chance. This was to be ruled out as a negative factor in the coming struggle. Second, since the immediate problem was that of overthrowing the Provisional Government by force, the military aspect of the problem must occupy the center of attention. "History," in his opinion "has made the *Military* question now the fundamental *Political* question." Third, while Lenin appreciated full well that ultimately only the struggle of classes shapes significant historical moments, he did not underestimate the significance of stray factors, born of either human stupidity or human wisdom in altering the direction of a movement. To guard against any such possibility, once Lenin aligned his forces, he remained adamant against the postponement of action for even a single day. When the timid members of the Central Committee counseled patience, Lenin castigated them mercilessly: "To await the Congress of Soviets is absolute idiocy, for this means losing weeks, whereas weeks and even days now decide *everything* . . . to refrain from seizing power at present . . . means to *ruin the revolution*."

It is pure conjecture to think of what might have happened had not Lenin asserted his will over the Central Committee, but today, the 17th year of the October Revolution, neither friend nor foe would gainsay the effect of his decision to launch the revolt at that particular time. In Lenin's steadfast refusal to wait on history, and in his disinclination merely to ride on the wings of fast moving social events, there is suggested an answer to the question of the rôle of genius in history. Circumstances may determine the limits of

action even for genius, but it is left for the decisions of genius to set the limits of time. And if the latter may be considered a criterion for making judgments, then next to the name of Lenin, without whose leadership the October Revolution could not have taken place when it did, we should place the imprimatur of genius.

The translation done by M. Olgan and J. Kunitz is excellent throughout.

W. LADEJINSKY

New York City

H. C. Knapp-Fisher. *The Modern World: A Pageant of Today*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1934. 442 pp. \$2.50.

This second book by a young British author is an effort to explain to children the essential facts about the political and economic world in which they must live. Says the author: "This book is an attempt to conduct the reader on a world tour to the parliaments and palaces, the government offices and courts of justice, the power houses and plantations, the mansions and slums throughout the world; explaining these things to one another and to the reader himself."

Among portions of the book which will strike even an adult as being valuable are the succinct summaries of the positions of the Labor and Conservative parties in England on pp. 62-66; the observations on so-called "autarchy," pp. 235-236, 432-438; the explanation of national "stereotypes" on pp. 290-294; the concluding chapter; and the numerous pictorial maps and excellent charts.

In view of the fact that the book is at least partially designed for American youngsters, it is regrettable that a few minor errors of fact and phraseology have crept in; e.g., on pp. 196, 208, 215, and 227. On the other hand, particularly valuable as the expression of an intelligent foreigner are the very just observations on Boulder Dam, Washington, D.C., and the Middle West, found respectively on pp. 225, 210 ff, and 221-223.

On a scale designed for adolescents Mr. Knapp-Fisher has tried to do about what Mr. G. D. H. Cole has attempted for adults in his *Intelligent Man's Guide Through World Chaos*. It is a worthy effort, and American parents and teachers should be grateful to the author for his work.

DUANE SQUIRES

Colby Junior College

Government in the United States. By Claudius O. Johnson. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1933. 696 pp. \$4.00.

In this period of rapid change in the organization and functions of government no textbook in the field can long remain adequate without drastic revision. Professor Johnson has provided a new book which at the moment is as nearly up-to-date as is possible in view of the minor delays necessarily incident to the processes of publication. In addition to being more recent it differs from the usual run of its predecessors in that instead of following the national-state-local arrangement it discusses functional topics across the usual lines of demarcation, thereby rendering unneces-

sary the repetition of much detail and emphasizing the increasing obscurity of the lines between the several governments. In view of current trends it is only natural that much of the illustrative material is drawn from the field of national government. State governments receive a considerable amount of attention, however, but slight mention is made of counties and municipalities.

A commendable emphasis is placed on problems of administration, in view of the fact that the steady expansion of governmental functions adds heavily to the already serious problems of organization and activity in a field where the doctrine of the separation of powers wholly ceases to find reality. This subject and others are treated comprehensively. If the book merits adverse criticism it is in connection with the possibility that its treatment of the many topics with which it deals is much too comprehensive, too encyclopedic, with the result that major outlines and the more significant principles are lost in the mass of accurate and relevant detail. There would have been advantages in the allotment of emphasis in such a way as to make more apparent the living processes of government in their adjustment to social and economic change, even at the expense of the elimination of relevant factual material.

CARL B. SWISHER

Columbia University

Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788. By Walter H. Mohr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1933. viii, 247 pp.

This study has developed from a dissertation presented for the doctor's degree at the University of Pennsylvania. It undertakes to trace the attempts to evolve a federal system for the management of Indian affairs during the pre-constitutional period.

The volume opens with an analysis of the administration of Indian affairs in the closing years of British rule, which is a useful summary, but which contains little new material. The second chapter, "the Indian as a factor in the Revolutionary War" is the most valuable in the book. The desire of each of the contestants at the outbreak of the struggle to avoid using the natives, the influence of the tribesmen on the northern and western campaigns, the expense of Indian alliances, and the encroachment of an agricultural frontier on their lands as a factor in winning the friendship of the Indians for Britain, all receive due emphasis. In dealing with the problems of peace the author flounders about considerably, and the issues are not made as clear as in the earlier chapters, although the clash of provincial with congressional policy, financial difficulties, and the problem of securing satisfactory agents to administer Indian affairs, are well established.

Mr. Mohr concludes that Congress leaned heavily on British precedents in framing its Indian policy; that after some bitter experience with decentralized control, authority was finally vested in two superintendents responsible to the Secretary of War; that in spite of the good intentions of Congress, it was difficult, if not impossible, to restrain the individualism

of the frontiersmen, and that the best efforts of the central administration to protect the interests of the natives were of little avail to prevent the rapid submergence of the tribes before the onrush of white settlement.

Mr. Mohr's style is inclined to be "choppy," and on numerous occasions his notes show through his manuscript. The paragraphing, as on page 19, leaves something to be desired. Not infrequently, as on pages 120-1, evidence of individuals is introduced without any attempt to explain to the reader what their opportunity was for observation or veracity. These are minor faults however, and the author is to be commended highly for a credible piece of work in a hitherto neglected field of study.

R. O. MACFARLANE

University of Manitoba,
Winnipeg.

Honest John Adams. By Gilbert Chinard. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1933. 359 pp. \$3.75.

Professor Chinard is known to many as the author of several studies dealing with the influence of French ideas upon America, and more particularly as the author of the most recent biography of Thomas Jefferson. The transition from Jefferson to Adams is quite easy. This may be due to the startling contrasts in beliefs of the two, or to the rather surprising friendship between the two "sages" in later life. The author indicates another reason which may have been more powerful than either of these. In the introduction (p. vi) he comments upon the strange attitude of a democracy like ours, to have exalted two Virginia aristocrats and to have failed to recognize in Adams a striking example of the principles of equality. In other words, the relative obscurity of John Adams as compared to Washington and Jefferson, has intrigued Mr. Chinard, and he seeks to discover the reasons for it.

The biography is a good one. From the homely rural setting of Braintree the sturdy young Adams emerges to Harvard, to Boston, to Philadelphia, to Paris, to the Hague and to the Court of St. James, to top his career as successor of Washington in a most vexing period of our history. After his term was over, chief victim of the first sharp party cleavage in American history, he retired to live as sage and patriarch on his farm for a quarter of a century. The delineation of John Adams' character, abstracted largely from his own writings, is excellent. From the author's generous selection of Adams' own introspections and comments on his time, the reader is able to build a very satisfying portrait indeed, of an honest and assiduous statesman. There is no attempt unduly to tone down the weaknesses of Adams—his tactlessness, his egotism, his complacency. But in the well-rounded picture of the man we are better able than heretofore to account for them and to sympathize with his mental attitudes and with his political and social philosophy.

The story of Adams' boyhood and of his undergraduate days at Harvard is well told. Worth noting is the picture of commencement day: "In spite of the efforts of the Overseers, commencement took very early the

character of a country fair rather than an academic function. . . . Booths were erected to accommodate the populace; 'gambling, rioting, and dissipation of all kinds prevailed,' students received guests in their rooms and offered them punch, many even indulged in the practice of addressing 'the female sex.' " (pp. 16-17).

The tendency of Adams to reflect upon his associates and to analyze individuals became evident early in his experience as a schoolmaster in Worcester where he makes many a shrewd observation regarding the little "world in miniature" over which he ruled. "In this little state" he confided to his Diary, "I can discover all the geniuses, all the surprising actions and revolutions of the great world, in miniature. I have several renowned generals but three feet high, and several projecting politicians in petticoats. I have seen others catching and dissecting flies, accumulating remarkable pebbles, cockles shells, etc., with as ardent curiosity as any virtuoso in the Royal Society. . . . In short, my little school, like the great world, is made up of kings, politicians, divines, L.D.'s, fops, buffoons, fiddlers, sycophants, fools, coxcombs, chimney sweeps, and every other character drawn in history, or seen in the world." (p. 22).

An event of great importance in the forming of Adams' mind was his membership in the Sodalitas Club, an organization of earnest young men, who met to read together the great classics of the law. It is interesting to note that this was perhaps the first group who read Rousseau in this country, though some of the members considered him "shallow" (pp. 46-47). The Club stimulated Adams' literary activity, for he prepared for its sessions a "Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law" which appeared later in the issues of the *Boston Gazette* and was later reprinted in England. Adams also put his influence strongly against taverns as breeding places of bad politics, and wrote a pamphlet against fighting and brawling.

The position of the young Boston lawyer, who was steadily winning a large and lucrative practice, was extremely difficult when the tense days of public disorder and controversy over British policies arrived. On the one hand, he was strongly against mob action of any sort, and as is well known, courageously defended in court the soldiers charged with the slaughter of Bostonians on March 5, 1770; on the other, he opposed the extension of admiralty courts to America, and refused the appointment of Advocate-General under Governor Bernard. The dilemma in which he found himself resulted from his strong disbelief in democratic government; yet he was increasingly forced by the unwise policies of the British governments to place himself more and more in the hands of the radicals, though he had great misgivings as to the ability of the Colonies to win independence from Great Britain.

Adams as a diplomat was a rather curious person. His sense of personal dignity was frequently outraged by the seeming neglect by Vergennes and other French statesmen of the claims of the United States and of the importance of his (Adams) ideas which he was only too willing to impart to them on every occasion.

His dislike of Franklin seems very short-sighted but perhaps natural to an aggressive and religious New Englander. Mr. Chinard is probably correct in emphasizing the unfitness of Mr. Adams for the post in France, that he was not in the confidence of the French Court; it is probably true that the best thing for all concerned was for him to abandon this unpleasant and useless mission and to endeavor to secure financial aid at The Hague; the result of his mission there, successful by September 1872, seems a justification of Adams' good judgment. To a certain extent, also, the temperament of Adams and his intense hostility to the French diplomats made possible an earlier negotiation of the preliminary treaty of peace with England in November, 1782, since less aggressive commissioners than Adams and his colleague Jay, would doubtless have been content to await the good pleasure and advice of their allies the French, as their instructions from Congress really insisted they should do. The history of Adams as a diplomat makes quite clear that it is not always the shifty and artful ambassador who wins triumphs. Often bluntness and firmness are the qualities needed.

The ineffectiveness of Adams' mission to England does not detract particularly from his achievements as a statesman, since there is little reason to believe that any mission to Great Britain would have accomplished much at that time. Yet Adams made a dignified minister and was a worthy beginning of a long line of superior representatives to that court. There is very little in the latter portion of Mr. Chinard's book which adds either to the knowledge of Adams or of the period. The second president has been given ample credit in recent works, for his skill and firmness in resisting the jingo spirit of 1798; so has his responsibility for the repressive legislation of the same period been minimized, with justice.

A few errors of fact or of judgment may be noted. John Hancock, a fellow student, could hardly have interrupted his Harvard studies in 1774 and still returned to graduate a year ahead of Adams, who finished in 1755 (pp. 9-10). In discussing the field of possible successors to President Washington, Thomas Pinckney of North [sic] Carolina was mentioned. This gentleman, like Charles and Charles Cotesworth, was a South Carolinian. The portion dealing with the conciliation projects with France in 1799 is not clear; we are led to believe that the foreign situation had made an indefinite postponement of the mission desirable, even to Adams, whereupon he arises early the next morning, directs that the instructions be delivered, and ordered the sailing of the mission. More explanation of Adams' mental operations seems called for (p. 291). It does not seem, either, that John Adams has been neglected in American historiography; considerable attention has been given, of late, to the "Adams family," though it may be true that more of this attention has been given to John Quincy and Henry than to the founder of the family; in Mr. Chinard's phrase, he belongs to his "descendants rather than to his ancestors." Of course that is the inevitable fate of the founder of dynasties! All in all, *Honest*

John Adams is a compact, careful study, the result of careful scholarship and fair, impartial thinking. It is a great credit to Mr. Chinard, a Frenchman by birth, that his mind is flexible enough to understand the sometimes cold and unsympathetic New England mind, particularly that of John Adams, who left behind him few reasons for France to regard him highly, except his final act of conciliation, and that, as we know, was not particularly a gesture of international friendship, but a policy of wise pacifism.

COURTNEY R. HALL

Adelphi College

Book Notes

It is not easy to see the exact usableness of *Britain in World History* by E. H. Dance (Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1932, 536 pp., \$2.25) for American schools. Too elementary for college use it can scarcely expect to find any demand except as supplementary reading in primary or secondary schools. The book is not without interest, representing as it does a compromise between the adherents of world history and those of national history. Setting the development of Great Britain against an emaciated background of European evolution Mr. Dance has avoided the worst excesses of English insularity, yet the actual content of the volume differs little from that of other elementary texts emanating from England. There are, however, several excellent features. The pictures are often extremely well chosen, the practice of concluding each chapter with an excerpt from an interesting and valuable source, not always conventional, deserves emulation, the book-lists are sensible, there is no "war-guilt," and something more than a political narrative carries the story along. On the other hand, there is still too much political and battle history, the "facts" follow one another in too rapid succession, and the time charts are both meaningless and unnecessary. In parallel columns of these charts the author has listed numerous unimportant and unconnected events that at best would only confuse and at worst thoroughly misinform the pupil. In fine, it very much appears as if the author had started out to write a "new" history, but had slipped back without realizing into the older conventional narrative: the plan surpasses the execution.—C.F.M.

With the publication of *The National Workshops: A Study in the French Revolution of 1848* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1933, xxvi, 191 pp.) Dr. Donald Cope McKay has produced what appears to be a definitive history of the national workshops in France during the Revolution of 1848. He has combed French archives and libraries for material, and he has presented all imaginably essential details. The result is an intelligent picture of the curious institution that was the *ateliers nationaux*.

Perhaps the most readable part of the book is the *Introduction*, which attempts to explain in brief compass the economic background of the Revolution of 1848. Justly, the author points out that the proletariat

suffered from the high cost of food, low wages, and unemployment. The dire straits in which the workers found themselves, account in large measure for their attempt to capitalize on the "revolution of the bourgeoisie." The story continues with a straightforward and convincing account of events. When the crisis came between bourgeoisie and proletariat, the former had to offer the latter some temporary sop. The safest expedient seemed to be a dole—in this case wages for a large number of laborers in the employ of the government. The leaders never seriously endeavored to make a successful attempt at nationalization and as soon as possible closed the *ateliers*. Of such passing importance were the workshops, that they left practically no trace in French history.—SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

Enlivened by some excellent new pictures including a frontispiece showing Secretary Hull and Maxim Litvinov in Washington last autumn, amplified by chapters on the many developments in Europe and in the Far East since 1929, Professor Benns' revision of his *Europe Since 1914* (New York, F. S. Crofts, xiv, 847 pp., \$4.00) presents substantially the same merits which won for the original edition such general approval. When the reader realizes that events which did not even transpire until Thanksgiving-time, 1933, are nevertheless discussed in this volume, he will surely appreciate the fidelity with which the author has brought his work up to the latest possible date while it takes over 800 pages of fairly close print to present even a summary of events that have happened primarily in Europe during the last two decades, Benns makes no claim to being encyclopedic. On the contrary his admirably complete bibliographies testify how well he knows that he has but scratched the surface in his various chapters. If the emphasis in history teaching is to be along the lines which this volume stresses, it is going to be ever more difficult to take the student far into the past. Apparently in the curriculum of the future what is called "modern history" must needs be the main thing.

Speaking of Benns' bibliography, it is worth noting that he is careful at the very beginning to call the student's attention to *A Guide to Historical Literature* and to Langer and Armstrong's *Foreign Affairs Bibliography*. Certainly no historical student today should go far without becoming familiar with these indispensable works, and all text-book writers ought to introduce their readers to them early in the game. Another good thing about Benns' bibliography is the short critical note which accompanies each cited work. In general these comments are excellent, but occasionally they are a bit over-condensed. For example, note the observation on p. 782 concerning *Secrets of Crewe House*. No reader will ever get more than a fragmentary glimpse of the vast British propaganda organization from reading this book by Campbell Stuart.

Try as an author will to be up to date, the course of life is too impetuous and erratic for him ever fully to succeed. Even since this volume has come from the printer, the assassination of Ion Duca, the Lipski-von Neurath non-aggression treaty between Poland and

Germany, the political resurrection of Doumergue in France, and the acute Austrian crisis, have set the stage with new possibilities and unexpected developments. This, however, is inevitable, and no historian of modern times should be deterred by it from attempting to bring his studies up to date. If all could succeed as well as does the author of this book, they might well rest content.—DUANE SQUIRES

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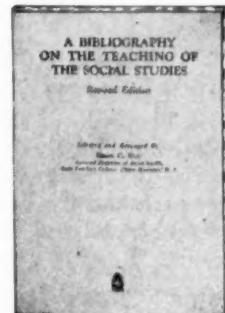
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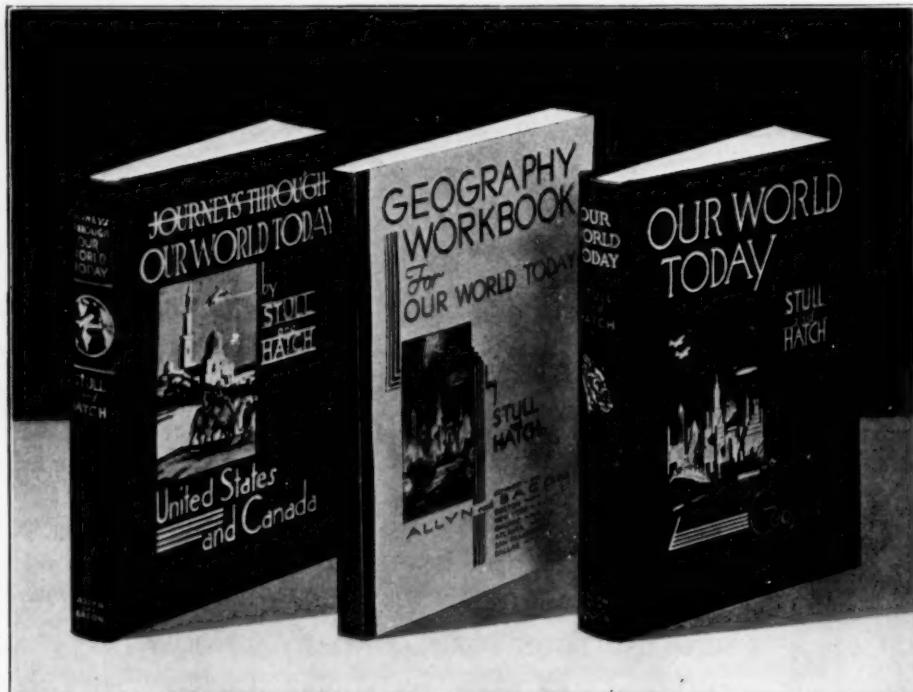
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